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# China Report

RED FLAG

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11 August 1982

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 12, 16 June 1982

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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## OUR PARTY'S BASIC POLICY ON RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF SOCIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 2-8, 19

[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Department]

[Text] Summary: Freedom of religious belief is our party's basic policy on religious questions during the period of socialism. This article analyzes the history and the present situation of religion in our country according to the Marxist basic viewpoints on religious questions, points out the reasons why under socialist conditions religion inevitably will exist for a long time, reviews the positive and negative experience of the party's religious work since the founding of the PRC and stresses the great significance of thoroughly and correctly implementing the party's policy on religion. In carrying out our work related to religion at present, we should primarily combat the "leftist" erroneous tendencies and at the same time, we should also pay attention to preventing and overcoming the erroneous laissez-faire tendency. The article also expounds on the party's principles and policies concerning all aspects of the party's work related to religion, including winning over, uniting and educating the people of religious circles, training and educating the younger generation of patriotic professional religious workers, giving full play to the role of the patriotic religious organizations, cracking down on illegal and criminal activities and counter-revolutionary sabotage activities under the cover of religion, developing friendly international exchanges related to religion and resisting the penetration of hostile religious influence from abroad. The article concludes by pointing out that strengthening the party's leadership is the basic guarantee for doing a good job in religious work. Party organizations at all levels must unite their thinking, understanding and policy on religious questions and conscientiously carry out this work satisfactorily.

Article 35 of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the PRC" provides: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief. No organs of state, public organizations or individuals shall compel citizens to believe in religion or disbelieve in religion, nor shall they discriminate against citizens who believe, or do not believe, in religions. The state protects legitimate religious activities. No one may use religion to carry out counterrevolutionary activities or activities that disrupt public order, harm the health of citizens or obstruct the educational system of the state. No religious affairs may be dominated by any foreign country." The whole content of this provision is our party's basic policy on religious questions during the socialist period. We communists are atheists and Marxism always holds that religion is the opiate of the people. Why, then, should our party implement a policy of allowing freedom of religious belief?

#### Social and Historical Factors That Have Given Rise to Religion and Enable It To Exist

Ours is a country with many kinds of religions. In our country, Buddhism has a history of about 2,000 years, Taoism has a history of more than 1,700 years, Islamism has a history of more than 1,300 years and Catholicism and Christianity have to a relatively great extent developed since the Opium War.

Among our people, especially the Han people, who constitute the majority of the country's population, the number of those who believe in religion is not great, but there are more than a dozen minority nationalities in which all the people believe in religion. Compared with the initial period after liberation, due to the increase in the minority nationality components of our population, the number of the masses of people who believe in religion has increased. However, their proportion to the whole population of the country has decreased.

During the prolonged period of the feudal society and the over a century-long period of the semifeudal and semicolonial society in our country, generally speaking, all the religions in our country were controlled and exploited by the ruling class and made to play a major negative role. The feudal landlord class, the class of feudal lords, the warlords and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie at home mainly controlled Buddhism, Taoism and Islamism, while the foreign colonialist and imperialist forces that came later primarily controlled Catholic and Christian churches.

Since the founding of our country, religions in our country have undergone a radical change because of the profound social reform and the reform of the religious systems that we have carried out. Generally speaking, the contradictions on religious questions have already been turned into the contradictions among the working people. However, we should realize that religious questions will exist for a long time to come in a certain respect, will involve a certain section of the masses and will involve nationality problems in many aspects. Furthermore, certain aspects of the class struggle and certain complex international factors will also have a bearing on these questions. Therefore, whether we handle religious questions

properly is still of such great significance that it cannot be neglected for our state's stability and national unity, for the development of international exchanges and the resistance of the penetration of hostile foreign influences and for the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilizations. It is precisely for this reason that during the socialist period, we should adopt a "very prudent," "very serious" and "carefully thoughtful" attitude--as was pointed out by Lenin--toward religious questions.

We are Marxists and we understand the social and historical factors in human life that have given rise to religion. Religion is an inevitable phenomenon at a certain stage of human history. This phenomenon has to undergo the stages of emergence, development and withering away. Religious belief and religious feeling along with religious ceremonies and organizations are all a historical outcome of society. In a society of class antagonism, the most profound social factor that gives rise to religion and enables it to develop lies in people's apprehension of the tremendous pressure of the system of exploitation, in the poverty and ignorance which people cannot free themselves from because of the control of an alien force and in the needs of the exploiting class to use religion as a narcotic and an important spiritual means to control the masses of the people.

Under socialist conditions, along with the elimination of the system of exploitation and the elimination of the exploiting class, the class factor that has given rise to the existence of religion has already been basically eliminated. However, because the development of people's ideology always falls behind social existence, the old ideology and habits left by the old society cannot be thoroughly eliminated in a short period of time. Moreover, because a prolonged struggle is necessary to greatly raise the social productive force and highly develop culture, science and technology, it is impossible to completely eliminate in a short time the various sufferings resulting from the shortage of material wealth and the uncontrollable natural disasters and manmade calamities. At the same time, there still exists to a certain extent the class struggle and a complicated international environment. All these factors determine that it is inevitable that religion will exist and have an impact on some people for a long time in a socialist society.

All the comrades in our party should adequately and soberly understand that under socialist conditions religious questions are prolonged in nature. It is unrealistic to think that religion will soon wither away after the socialist system has been established and the economy and culture has developed to a certain extent. The idea and practice that treats religion as something we can eliminate once and for all by administrative orders or even by means of force, runs counter to the Marxist basic viewpoints on religious questions and is completely wrong and very harmful.

## Correctly Sum Up Historical Experiences, Prevent the Erroneous Laissez-faire Tendency and Oppose the Erroneous "Leftist" Tendency

Since the founding of the PRC, there have been twists and turns in our party's religious work.

During the 17 years from the founding of new China to the beginning of the "Great Cultural Revolution," despite a few major mistakes, generally speaking, we did much work related to religion and achieved great results under the guidance of the correct principles and policies of the CCP Central Committee. We eliminated the imperialist influence in our churches, implemented the correct policy of running the churches independently and the policy of "three selves" (preaching by ourselves, running the church by ourselves and supporting the church by ourselves), thus we succeeded in changing Catholicism and Christianity from being tools for aggression by the imperialists into an independent religious undertaking of Chinese believers. We abolished the feudal privileges of religion and the oppressive and exploitative system of religion and exposed and cracked down on the counterrevolutionaries and evildoers working under the cover of religion, thus freeing Buddhism, Taoism and Islamism from the control and exploitation of the reactionary classes. We carried out the policy of freedom of religious belief and enabled the broad masses of religious believers to begin to enjoy the right of freedom of religious belief as well as political and economical emancipation along with people all over the country. We carried out the policy of winning over, uniting and educating the personalities in religious circles and succeeded in uniting many patriotic persons. Furthermore, we supported and assisted the religious circles in developing friendly activities throughout the world, which played a positive role. All these tremendous achievements have been universally acknowledged.

However, after 1957, the "leftist" mistakes in our religious work began to aggravate and by the middle of the 1960's became more serious. They became especially serious during the "Great Cultural Revolution" because the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques willfully exploited these "leftist" mistakes and took them to the extreme. They recklessly trampled on the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought on religious questions, completely negated the party's correct policies on religious work that had been formulated since the founding of the PRC and entirely abolished the party's religious work. They wrecked the religious organizations and the ranks of activists of the religious circles that loved the country and supported socialism and even forcefully banned the normal religious life of the masses of religious believers and destroyed and closed down all places of religious activities. They regarded patriots in religious circles and even ordinary religious believers as "objects of dictatorship," and framed up many wrong, false and misjudged cases. Moreover, they treated the customs and habits of some minority nationalities as religious and superstitious and forcefully banned these customs and habits, thus impairing national unity. They used violence in solving religious problems. They provided extremely favorable conditions for a few counterrevolutionaries and evildoers to carry out illegal and criminal activities and counterrevolutionary



sabotage activities in a big way under the cover of carrying out religious activities.

Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party's correct principles and policies related to religious work have gradually been restored. We have done much work and achieved remarkable results in implementing our religious policies, opening up temples, churches and other places of religious activities, restoring the activities of patriotic religious organizations, winning over, uniting and educating the masses of religious believers and the personalities of religious circles, developing the friendly international activities of religious circles and resisting the penetration of hostile foreign religious influence. During the new historical period, our party's basic task toward religious work is to resolutely implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, consolidate and expand the patriotic political union of religious circles of all nationalities, strengthen their education in patriotism and socialism, give play to their positive factors and mobilize them to strive along with us to build a powerful socialist motherland, realize the great goal of the reunification of the motherland with Taiwan, oppose hegemonism and safeguard peace.

Of course, in comprehensively and correctly implementing the party's policies on religion, we will encounter much resistance and many difficulties, including the interference and sabotage of "leftism" and "rightism." At present, we should primarily oppose the erroneous "leftist" tendency and at the same time, pay attention to preventing and overcoming the erroneous laissez-faire tendency. However, it is beyond any doubt that so long as all the comrades in our party, especially the party's leading organs and leading cadres at all levels, are adept at summing up and conscientiously learn the positive and negative historical experiences in the party's religious work since the founding of the PRC, so long as we further understand and master the objective law governing the emergence, development and withering away of religion, and so long as we steadfastly follow the scientific line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in carrying out the party's religious work, we will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties and resistance and fulfill this major task satisfactorily.

#### Respecting and Protecting Freedom of Religious Belief Is Our Party's Basic Policy on Religious Questions During the Period of Socialism

By freedom of religious belief, we mean that every citizen enjoys the freedom to believe, or not believe, in religion, the freedom to choose any religion, the freedom to believe any faction in a religion, the freedom to convert oneself from a nonbeliever to a believer or from a believer to a nonbeliever in religion. Respecting and protecting freedom of religious belief is a long-term policy of our party and is a basic policy that we should always adhere to until the natural withering away of religion.

True, we communists are atheists and we advocate and will propagate atheism among the masses of the people. However, we, at the same time, understand

that it is not only ineffective but also very harmful to use simple and forceful methods to handle the ideological problems of the people and problems concerning the spiritual world of the people, especially the problems of religious belief. We also understand that in the present stage, if we one-sidedly stress the disparity of ideological awareness between religious believers and nonbelievers among the masses of the people, regard this relatively secondary disparity as being of primary importance, discriminate against and attack the religious believers among the masses of the people, neglect and even deny the identity in the basic political and economic interests of the religious believers and the nonbelievers and forget that the party's basic task is to unite all the people (including the broad masses of believers and nonbelievers of religion) to jointly strive for the construction of a modern powerful socialist country, we will only widen the gap between the believers and nonbelievers among the masses of the people, stir up and aggravate religious fanaticism and seriously harm the socialist cause. Therefore, the policy of freedom of religious belief is the only correct religious policy that our party has formulated according to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and is a policy that really conforms to the interests of the people.

Naturally, we should also stress that we protect the people's freedom of refusing to believe in religion, while implementing this policy and stressing that we protect people's freedom of religious belief. These are two indispensable aspects of the same problem. Forcing people to believe in religion in any manner, like forcing people to refuse to believe in religion, is an infringement on the freedom of religious belief of other people and is, therefore, extremely wrong and can never be allowed. We must also stress that the essence of the policy of freedom of religious belief is to make the question of religious belief one of personal choice for a citizen and his private affair. It is precisely for this reason that we must adhere to the principle of separating religion from politics, judiciary and education, and we must never allow religion to interfere in the administration of the state and the law or in school or social public education. It is precisely for this reason that we must never allow the practice of forcing youngsters below the age of 18 to be converted to some religion or to be sent to temples to be monks or to learn religious scriptures. It is also for this reason that we must never allow the abolished systems of feudal privilege of religion and religious exploitation and oppression to be restored. Furthermore, we must in no way allow anybody to use religion to oppose the party's leadership and the socialist system or to use religion to carry out propaganda against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In short, uniting both the believers and the nonbelievers of religion among the masses to jointly strive for the construction of a modern powerful socialist country is the basic starting point and basic ground for us in carrying out the policy of freedom of religious belief and in carrying out all religious work. Any words or actions that are divorced from this basic starting point and basic ground are wrong and should be resolutely resisted and opposed by the whole party and all the people in our country.

## Winning Over, Uniting and Educating the Personalities in the Religious Circles Is an Important Part of the Party's Religious Work

Although the personalities of the religious circles in our country, primarily the professional religious personalities, differ in their family backgrounds, life experiences, beliefs, political ideas and thoughts, generally speaking, most of them love our country, observe the law and support socialism. The number of counterrevolutionaries and evildoers who oppose the constitution and socialism or who even collude with foreigners is very small. Many of the personalities of the religious circles and primarily many of the professional religious personalities have not only close spiritual contacts with the masses of believers but also an important influence on their spiritual life which cannot be neglected. Moreover, in the form of carrying out their religious duties, they have been carrying out a large amount of work of social service and benefits. These include for example: Looking after temples, churches and religious cultural relics, farming, cultivating and protecting forests and carrying out religious academic research. Therefore, we must attach due importance to all the personalities of the religious circles and especially to various kinds of professional religious personalities. We must unite them, show concern for them and help them to make progress. We must steadfastly and patiently teach them to love our country, observe the law and support socialism, the cause of the reunification of the motherland and national unity. Among Catholic and Christian personalities, we should intensify the education in maintaining independence and running the church on their own. We must satisfactorily arrange the lives of the professional religious personalities and conscientiously implement relevant policies. This is especially so for the well-known personalities and intellectuals among them and we should even more vigorously speed up the implementation of the policies related to them and grant them proper remuneration. In regard to the wrong, false and misjudged cases that have involved personalities in the religious circles and the masses of religious believers and that have not yet been remedied, we should speed up the reexamination and reinvestigation of these cases and rehabilitate them in the manner of seeking truth from facts. We should fix a deadline for remedying these cases. We must pay attention to training, supporting and giving play to the positive role of the newly emerged representative personalities who love the motherland, obey the leadership of the party and the government, adhere to the socialist path, safeguard the reunification of the motherland and national unity, are accomplished in religious learning and can maintain contacts with the masses of religious believers. We must organize all personalities in the religious circles according to their different conditions and abilities to take part in the productive labor that they can do and in social service work, religious academic research, patriotic social and political activities and international friendly exchanges so as to give play to their positive factors and make them serve the cause of socialist modernization. We should not only continue to win over, unite and educate all the existing personalities of the religious circles, but should also help the various religious organizations to do a good job of establishing and managing religious colleges and training new professional religious personalities. Religious colleges should recruit students from those young people who are honest,

patriotic, willing to go in for a religious profession and are educated to a certain degree. The task of the religious colleges is to vigorously train and form a rank of young professional religious workers who politically love the motherland and support the party's leadership and the socialist system and who are to a certain extent accomplished in religious learning and can maintain close contacts with the masses of believers. Combined with the existing patriotic and progressive elements in the religious circles, this rank of young patriotic professional religious workers will become the backbone force to ensure that the various religions in our country will develop their activities in a correct direction.

Our comrades must understand that though in terms of world outlook Marxism runs counter to any theism, in terms of political actions, Marxists definitely can and must form a united front with religious believers to jointly strive for socialist modernization. This united front should become a very important part of the broad patriotic united front that is led by the party during the period of socialism.

#### Give Full Play to the Role of the Patriotic Religious Organizations and Organize and Guide the Broad Masses of Religious Believers in Carrying Out Normal Religious Activities

Now there are eight national patriotic religious organizations, namely: the Chinese Buddhist Association, the Chinese Taoist Association, the Chinese Islamic Association, the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association, the National Administrative Commission of the Chinese Catholic Church, the Chinese Catholic Bishops College, the Three Self Patriotic Movement Committee of Protestant Churches of China and the Christian Council of China. Besides, there are some social bodies of a religious nature and some local religious organizations. The basic task of the patriotic religious organizations at all levels is to assist the party and government in carrying out the policy of freedom of religious belief, to help the broad masses of religious believers and the personalities of the religious circles to continuously raise their patriotic and socialist awareness, to represent the legitimate rights and interests of religious believers, to organize and lead the masses of religious believers to carry out normal religious activities and to satisfactorily do all the work related to religion. All the patriotic religious organizations should obey the leadership of the party and the government. The cadres of the party and the government should be good at consulting and cooperating with the religious organizations and the religious personalities and support and help them to solve their own problems. They should not take on what ought to be done by these organizations and personalities. Only by so doing can we give full play to the initiative and proper role of the patriotic religious organizations. Only by so doing can we enable them to develop useful work on their own initiative within the scope of the constitution and the law, to become the religious organizations that exert a positive influence and to become the bridge for winning over, uniting and educating religious personalities and the masses of religious believers.

The problem facing us at present is that we must rationally arrange places for carrying out religious activities and provide for the material needs in order to ensure that religious activities can be carried out normally. All the normal religious activities that are carried out in the places for religious activities, such as worshipping Buddhas, chanting scriptures, burning incense, holding religious services, praying, explaining scriptures, preaching, holding masses, baptizing, granting full status to nuns and monks, giving last sacraments and celebrating religious festivals and all the customary religious activities that are usually carried out at home, such as practicing abstinence from meat and chanting requiems, should be managed by religious organizations and religious believers on their own. They are protected by law and thus no one is allowed to interfere in these activities. All the places of religious activities should be managed by religious organizations and professional religious personnel under the administrative leadership of the religious affairs department of the government. In principle, in carrying out all religious activities, we should avoid hampering social, production or work order. No one is allowed to propagate atheism at religious places or stir up debates about the existence of the gods among the masses of religious believers. However, in places other than religious places, no religious organizations or believers should preach, propagate theism or distribute religious pamphlets or religious books, permission for publication of which has not been granted by the responsible department of the government. We should take prudent care of the important temples and churches at well-known mountainous and scenic spots because they are not only places of religious activities, but also cultural facilities of significant historical and cultural value. We should take good care of the cultural relics in these temples and churches and maintain these temples and churches in good repair in order to turn them into clean, quiet and beautiful places for sight-seeing.

We should make a clear distinction between normal religious activities and the illegal and criminal activities under the cover of religion. The resolute protection of all normal religious activities itself, calls for the resolute cracking down on all illegal, criminal and counterrevolutionary sabotage activities under the cover of religion. We should severely punish according to the law the counterrevolutionaries and criminals who act under the cover of religion. Those professional religious workers who have been released from the prison and who continue to carry out sabotage activities should be punished as severely as possible according to the law. At the same time, we should make a clear distinction between normal religious activities and feudal superstitious activities. We should not allow those reactionary superstitious sects and secret societies and those sorcerers and sorceresses that we have banned to resume their activities. We should ban and severely punish all those who carry out superstitious activities to lure the people and defraud them of their money and property. We should even more severely punish the party members and party cadres who exploit these superstitious activities to make profits. We should realize that in cracking down on all illegal and criminal activities under the cover of religion and in banning all feudal superstitious activities we are precisely aiming at protecting normal religious activities. This is because only by so doing can we more satisfactorily win over, unite

and educate the broad masses of religious believers and ensure that their religious activities can be carried out in a normal manner.

At present, along with the daily increase in our international exchanges, the external contacts of the religious circles will also develop in a daily increasing manner and play an important role in raising our country's political influence. However, at the same time, the reactionary religious forces in the world, especially the imperialist religious forces will also attempt to exploit religious exchanges to carry out penetration activities in order to "stage a return to China." Our policy should be resolutely resisting the penetration of any hostile foreign religious forces as well as vigorously developing the international friendly exchanges in the religious field. In carrying out international exchanges, our religious circles must adhere to the principle of maintaining our independence and running the churches by ourselves. They should resolutely combat the attempt by reactionary international religious forces to resume the control of our country's religion. They must resolutely reject the interference of any foreign churches or foreign religious personalities in the religious affairs of our country. They must never allow any foreign religious organizations (including the organs controlled by these organizations) to preach in any form in our country, or to smuggle religious propaganda materials into our country and distribute them in our country. We should maintain a high vigilance and a close lookout on the underground churches and other illegal organizations that the reactionary foreign religious forces have set up and will try to set up in our country in order to carry out espionage and sabotage activities in our country under the cover of religion. Whenever we find any, we should resolutely crack down on them.

Developing friendly external relations in the religious field on an independent basis is a new problem facing us. The key to doing this work well is to conscientiously do a good job of the religious work at home in accordance with the CCP Central Committee's correct principles and policies. Facts have proved that when we have done the religious work at home satisfactorily, there will be no or very few loopholes for hostile foreign religious forces to take advantage of and the international exchanges in the religious field will be able to healthily and smoothly develop and play their due role.

#### Strengthening the Party's Leadership Is the Basic Guarantee for Doing the Religious Work Satisfactorily

Religious work is an important part of the party's mass work and involves many fields. Therefore, our party organizations at all levels must unify their thinking, understanding and policies and must resolutely take this important task in their hands and steadfastly and conscientiously fulfill this task in a satisfactory manner.

We should emphatically point out that using a Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods to carry out scientific research on religious problems is an important part of the party's theoretical work. Criticizing idealism (including theism) by Marxist philosophy and educating the masses of the people,

especially the broad masses of youngsters in the scientific world outlook (including atheism) is an important task of the party on the theoretical and propaganda front. Building up a contingent of religious theory research workers who are armed with the weapon of Marxism is an indispensable part of the construction of the party's theoretical ranks. While we encourage the academic circles to respect the ideology and beliefs of the religious circles, our religious circles should also respect the activities of research on and propaganda of Marxist religious theory by our academic circles.

By declaring and carrying out the policy of freedom of religious belief, our party does not mean that the party members are allowed to believe in religion as they please. The party's policy of freedom of religious belief is only for ordinary citizens and not for party members. A party member differs from an ordinary citizen and is the member of a Marxist political party. Therefore, he undoubtedly should be an atheist and should not be a theist. Our party has time and again clearly stipulated that CCP members are not allowed to believe in religion or to take part in religious activities and that if a CCP member clings to believing in religion and to taking part in religious activities and refuses to mend his ways, he should be persuaded to quit the party. This stipulation is entirely correct and taking the party as a whole, we should continue to resolutely carry out this stipulation in the future.

The problem now is that, among the people of the minority nationalities who nearly all believe in religion, we should adopt measures to implement this policy step by step in the light of the actual conditions and should not do this in a hurried way. We must see that there is still quite a large part of the CCP members among these minority nationalities who have been loyally carrying out the party's line, conscientiously working for the party and observing party discipline, but cannot completely be free from religious feelings. Regarding these comrades, the party organizations should not simply turn them out, but should, while giving full play to their political initiative, carry out patient and careful ideological work in order to gradually help them fix in their minds a Marxist world outlook and break away from the fetters of religious feelings. A small number of party members have acted in an extremely harmful manner by not only believing in religion, but also taking part in stirring up religious fanaticism, or even using religious fanaticism to oppose the four basic principles and the party's line, principles and policies. These people have already completely lost the basic stand of party members and, if after criticism and education they still refuse to correct their mistakes or feign willingness to but covertly refuse to correct their mistakes, they should be resolutely expelled from the party.

Among the minority nationalities, all the people of which believe in religion, the party members who live at that grassroots should not refuse to take part in the traditional wedding and funeral ceremonies and mass festive activities that are to some extent religious in nature, even if they have already abandoned their previous religious beliefs. For if they refuse, they will be divorced from the masses and become isolated. Although

there is something of a religious nature and tradition in many traditional wedding and funeral ceremonies and mass festival activities, in essence, this religious nature and tradition has already become a component of the nationality's conventions and customs. Our comrades, especially the party members living at the grassroots, should not only thoroughly abandon religious beliefs in their minds, but should also respect and observe the conventions and customs of their nationality in their lives. It is inappropriate to confuse the conventions and customs of a nationality with religious activities without making an analysis. This will be unfavorable to correctly handling religious problems and to strengthening national unity.

All the comrades in our party should deeply understand that ours is a great socialist country with many nationalities. As nationalities and religions differ, so do the relationships between religions and the people of the nationalities. In regard to some minority nationalities, nearly all the people of a nationality believe in one religion, for example, Islam or Lamaism. For these nationalities, the religious problems often intertwine with nationality problems. However, this is not the case for the Han nationality, the people of which believe in Buddhism, Taoism, Catholicism or Christianity and the religious problems of the Han people are not related to nationality problems. Therefore, we must be good at making concrete analysis of the different conditions of various nationalities and different religions and at understanding the distinction and relationships between nationality and religious problems. Moreover, we must know how to handle these problems correctly. If our party cannot soberly and resolutely master these problems in leading China, a country with so many nationalities, in carrying out the magnificent struggle for socialist modernization, we will not be able to satisfactorily unite the people of all nationalities to jointly forge ahead.

All the comrades in our party must soberly understand that the party's current religious policy is by no means a make-shift policy. On the contrary, this policy is formulated on the scientific theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and is a strategic stipulation that is aimed at uniting the people of all nationalities throughout the nation to jointly build up a powerful modern socialist country. Under the socialist conditions, the only correct way to solve the religious problem is that, under the premise of protecting the freedom of religious belief, we greatly develop the socialist economy, culture, science and technology and achieve great progress in developing socialist material and spiritual civilizations so as to gradually eliminate the social and cognitive sources that have given rise to religion and enables it to exist. Of course, it is impossible to achieve success in such a great cause in a short period of time nor in the time of one, two or three generations. This means that only after a very long historical period and only after the joint struggle of many generations of the masses of people including both believers and non-believers can we achieve this. Then, the Chinese people and the land of China will be thoroughly free from any poverty, ignorance and spiritual barrenness and the Chinese people will have created a bright world with highly developed material and spiritual civilizations and rank the foremost



among human beings. At that time, most of the citizens in our country will be able to consciously adopt a scientific attitude toward the world and life will no longer need to look for spiritual sustenance in the illusory world of gods. That will be the times that Marx and Engels described as when all the social life is put under people's conscious and planned control and that Comrade Mao Zedong described as the times when people consciously reform themselves as well as the world. Only when we have entered these times will the various religious expressions of the actual world finally disappear. Our whole party should strive hard generation after generation in order to achieve this magnificent goal.

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## CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 9-12

[Article by Yang Yifan [2799 0001 0416]]

[Text] Article 1 of the "Draft of the Revised PRC Constitution" stipulates: "The PRC is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." This explains the nature, that is, the state system, of our country. State system refers to the class nature of the state, that is, the positions of all classes in the society. An instrument of class domination, a state is the dictatorship of a certain class. As an instrument with which the exploiters oppress the broad masses of laboring people, a state of the exploiting class is the dictatorship of the minority over the majority. Our state power is completely different in nature from all the states of the exploiting classes. It is the people's democratic dictatorship which practices democracy toward the broad masses of the laboring people and exercises dictatorship over a small number of enemies.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" approved at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee specifically pointed out: "A fundamental task of the socialist revolution is to gradually establish a highly democratic socialist political system." The preamble of the draft of the revised constitution also regards the establishment of a high degree of democracy as an important component of the future tasks of the people of the whole country. A high degree of socialist democracy has two implications: one is the ruling position of the whole people in the state, or their position of being the masters of the country, and the other is a high degree of development of the democratic system. The first, which is also the most fundamental implication, is a state system of the people's democratic dictatorship as stipulated in the draft of the revised constitution.

Our people's democratic dictatorship is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has been explicitly pointed out in the preamble of the draft of the revised constitution that "the people's democratic dictatorship is the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is because: First, this dictatorship is led by the working class as well as its political party, the CCP, which is precisely the basic indication of the dictatorship of the

proletariat. Second, this dictatorship undertakes the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will not only abolish all exploitive systems, the bourgeoisie and all other exploitive classes, but will also greatly develop social productive forces, improve and develop the socialist relations of production and the superstructure and, on this basis, gradually eliminate all class differences and all major social differences and social inequality brought about mainly by inadequate social productive forces, until the realization of communism. Third, this dictatorship is based on the alliance of workers and peasants, which is the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fourth, this dictatorship should not only suppress the sabotage activities of the extremely few internal enemies; it also has the function of guarding against subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. All of these, particularly the leadership of the proletariat and its political party and the historical mission undertaken by this dictatorship, determine that the people's democratic dictatorship of our country is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With respect to the class nature of our political power, there were two formulations in the constitutions previously promulgated. The 1954 constitution made it clear in the preamble that we "have founded the People's Republic of China of the people's democratic dictatorship." It was also stipulated in the general principle that our country is a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The two constitutions promulgated later stipulated that our country is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The present draft of the revised constitution for discussion among the people of the whole country has restored the formulation in the 1954 constitution. Since the two formulations are essentially the same, why is it necessary for the draft of the revised constitution to adopt the formulation of the people's democratic dictatorship?

This revision has not been made at will. It has been affirmed in the form of a fundamental law under the guidance of the basic principle of Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the light of the specific historical and national conditions in our country and with the aim of expressing more clearly and explicitly the nature, content and functions of our political power. After leading the revolutionary people in smashing the old state apparatus and seizing the state power, the proletariat became the ruling class and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is undoubtedly the fundamental and primary indication of the victory of the proletarian revolution. "The continued advancement of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, i.e., development toward communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 448) This is also a truth that has been repeatedly proved in history. However, due to different national conditions in various countries and the different revolutionary paths the proletariat and laboring people in various countries have taken in winning liberation, there are bound to be various different political forms by which to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. The form of the dictatorship of the proletariat a country adopts can only be determined in the light of the specific national conditions in each country and not according

to a fixed, unchangeable pattern. The specific social and historical conditions in our country are greatly different from those in the relatively developed capitalist countries of Europe and America; they are also different from the conditions evident when Lenin and Stalin led the Soviet socialist revolution. The proletariat in our country launched proletarian revolution in a semicolonial and semifeudal country where the economy and culture were very backward; it has launched socialist revolution and the cause of socialist construction in a great country where the peasants make up the great majority of the people. It is precisely in the light of the specific social and historical conditions and the actual situation in our country and because of the following reasons that we have adopted the form of the people's democratic dictatorship as the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

First, the people's democratic dictatorship of our country is an objective historical fact which has been formed in the protracted revolutionary struggle and which has been accepted by the people of the whole country. The people's democratic dictatorship of our country has gone through the new democratic and the socialist periods. On the question of the Chinese revolution, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong, by integrating the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, determined the strategic tasks of the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution in the course of the Chinese revolution, clearly pointed out the correct path for achieving the victory of the Chinese revolution and gradually formed the concept of the people's democratic dictatorship. During the war period Comrade Mao Zedong proposed that the new China should be a new type of political power of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. On the eve of national liberation he again pointed out in his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship": "To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main program." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1417) When new China was founded, our state power was organized precisely according to the principle of the people's democratic dictatorship. It was led by the working class, was based on the alliance of workers and peasants and recruited the petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie as well as the representatives of other patriotic and democratic elements. We put the principle of the people's democratic dictatorship into the 1949 "Common Program" which served as a provisional constitution, and into the 1954 constitution. After the founding of new China, we entered the period of transformation from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and we accomplished the transformation in 1956. By that time, the people's democratic dictatorship also became a state power of socialist character on the national scale. In the struggle to achieve this great transformation, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong further enriched and developed the concept of the people's democratic dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie in our country was different from the bureaucrat-capitalist class and the

landlord class in that on the one hand it exploited the working class to gain profit and on the other hand it supported the constitution and was willing to accept socialist transformation. Therefore, the class struggle between the national bourgeoisie and the working class generally came within class struggle among the people. For this reason, during the transition period, we closely relied on the broad masses of workers and peasants, correctly handled the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, victoriously accomplished socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production by peaceful means and abolished the system of exploitation of man by man. Either before or after socialist transformation, our state power was organized according to the principle of the people's democratic dictatorship. As a matter of fact, this situation has been prevailing in the normal conditions of our state life since our country entered the period of full-scale socialist construction. All this has convincingly proved that the form of the people's democratic dictatorship is suitable to our country not only during the new democratic period but also during the socialist period.

Second, the adoption of the form of the people's democratic dictatorship for our state power is suited to the class and national conditions of our country in the present period and is necessary for exercising the leadership of the working class over state life. Ours is a country where the peasants make up the great majority of the people. Since the founding of the PRC, the ranks of the working class have grown rapidly, but they still account for a very small percentage of the whole population. Without the peasants and other laboring people, it is impossible for the working class to exercise a strong rule of the majority over the minority and it is impossible to firmly maintain the leadership of the working class over state life. Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is the direction of policy by the proletariat." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 32, p 332) In order to exercise this leadership, it is imperative for the working class to form a close alliance with the vast numbers of peasants and other laboring people. Now, after the exploiting class has been eliminated as a class, most of the people among the exploiting class have been transformed into laborers who support themselves through their own labor. The targets of dictatorship have been greatly reduced while the ranks of the people who enjoy democratic rights have correspondingly expanded. With the exception of the extremely few reactionaries who are hostile to and sabotage the socialist revolution and socialist construction, all the people in our country are masters of our country. Naturally, there are still certain contradictions between the two laboring classes of the workers and peasants, between the various strata of the masses of people and between one group of people and another group of people. These contradictions include the contradictions between the interests of the state and the interests of the collective on the one hand and the interests of the individual on the other, and the contradictions arising from the bureaucratic style of work of some state personnel in their relations with the masses. These are contradictions among the people. Generally speaking, the fundamental identity of the people's interests underlies the contradictions among the people. Therefore, under the socialist conditions, the leadership of the working class over the peasants and other masses of the people cannot be achieved through

the method of dictatorship, but through the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, through its correct principle and policies, through the methods of conducting ideological education among the masses and coming into close contact with the masses and through the method of correctly handling the contradictions among the people. The formulation of the people's democratic dictatorship in the draft of the revised constitution will not weaken the leading role of the working class over state life, but will better conform to our national conditions and more explicitly reflect the position of the whole people as the masters of the country in state life.

Third, the adoption of the people's democratic dictatorship for our state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat can reflect more clearly and more explicitly its nature, content and functions. In classical Marxist works, the content and functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat originally included the two aspects of democracy and dictatorship, that is, the practice of democracy among the people and the exercise of dictatorship over the enemies of the people. Lenin explicitly pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat "must inevitably be a state that is democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie)." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 200) In light of the practical situation in our country, the formulation of the people's democratic dictatorship can directly indicate the two aspects of democracy and dictatorship it contains. This has the advantage of being explicit and clear in expression and can prevent some people from abusing the dictatorship of the proletariat. People still clearly remember that during the decade of civil disturbance, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, put into motion by the need to usurp the leadership of the party and power, deliberately distorted the content and nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They isolated democracy from dictatorship, abolished socialist democracy and exercised "all-round dictatorship" of the feudal-fascist type over the numerous cadres and the broad masses with the result that the state and the people suffered from an unheard-of calamity. Naturally, the ugly performances of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were not in the least related to the formulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, in view of the historical lessons and experiences and in order to prevent conspirators from engaging in counterrevolutionary activities with the trick of stripping the revolutionary theory of its essence, it is quite necessary for the draft of the revised constitution to adopt the formulation of the people's democratic dictatorship which directly indicates the implications of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It should be emphatically pointed out here that the adoption of the people's democratic dictatorship in the draft of the revised constitution published on this occasion also reflects the increased function of the people's democratic dictatorship in maintaining socialist democracy during the new historical period. The chief contradiction in the present stage of our country is no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie but the contradiction between the people's need for speedily developing economy and culture and the inability of the present economy and

culture to meet the needs of the people. The fundamental task of our country is to concentrate our forces in the socialist modernization drive and gradually build our country into a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and technology and modern national defense, and with a highly developed democracy and civilization. This determines that the fundamental task of the people's democratic dictatorship is to protect social productive forces under the new relations of production and to ensure that the people enjoy a high degree of democratic rights in the state's political life and economic construction. In order to develop social productive forces at a high speed, it is imperative for us to develop socialist democracy and ensure that the broad masses of people take an active part in socialist construction with the attitude of being masters of the country. In order to establish a socialist political system with a highly developed democracy, we should, with the development of socialist economic construction, constantly expand the people's democratic rights, particularly the people's rights to manage state affairs. The principal character of the people's democratic dictatorship of our country is extensive democracy. Therefore, the adoption of the formulation of the people's democratic dictatorship in the draft of the revised constitution has correctly reflected the functions of our state power and the socialist nature of our country.

Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong have enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state with the theory and practice of establishing the people's democratic dictatorship. This constitutes a major contribution to the international communist movement. In this respect, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" has made a positive confirmation. Taking the people's democratic dictatorship as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is an outstanding indication that the party and Comrade Mao Zedong have creatively applied the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism in the practice of Chinese revolution. When setting forth and expounding the theory on the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx and Engels set forth, in the light of the different social and historical conditions in capitalist countries such as Britain, France and Germany at that time, the concept that these countries may "directly or indirectly establish the political domination of the proletariat" after the victory of the proletarian revolution. Engels pointed out: "In Britain this domination can be directly established because the proletariat there is now made up by the majority of the people; in France and Germany this domination can be indirectly established because the majority of the people in these two countries include not only the proletarians but also small farmers and small urban capitalists." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 219) This shows that, in judging the question of whether a state power is the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should chiefly see whether the country has established the political domination of the proletariat, that is, whether the proletariat has taken the leadership of the state into its hands. As to the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whether it is a direct domination of the proletariat or an indirect role, that is, the exercise of political domination by means of establishing an alliance with the peasants and other laboring masses, they are all permissible. Therefore, the formulation of the

people's democratic dictatorship adopted in the draft of the revised constitution does not deviate from the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor has it changed the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. It is precisely an expression of upholding in a better way the dictatorship of the proletariat in light of our national conditions.

Upholding the people's democratic dictatorship is a fundamental guarantee for the victory of the cause of our socialist revolution and construction. The reason why it is necessary for us to continuously consolidate and strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship is that the historical mission undertaken by this dictatorship is still far from being accomplished. We have abolished the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes in our country, but owing to the internal factors and international influence, class struggle will still exist in a certain scope for a long time. It may even intensify under some circumstances. In order to defend the socialist system, ensure the smooth progress of the four modernizations drive and ensure that the people of our country will enjoy a high degree of democratic rights in a stable social environment, it is imperative for us to employ the force of the state power to strengthen the suppression on the extremely few enemies who resist and disrupt socialism, guard against subversive activities and possible aggression by antagonistic external forces, eliminate all class differences and accomplish the historical mission of transition to communism. This is a more difficult, arduous and protracted fighting task. Therefore, so long as class struggle and class differences exist, the function of the people's democratic dictatorship will not wither away. The historical experience in the 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC has told us that without the people's democratic dictatorship socialism is empty talk. Only if the people of the whole country closely rally around the working class and its vanguard, the CCP, and persistently strive to uphold the people's democratic dictatorship will it be possible for the cause of our revolution and construction to smoothly advance.

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## STRENGTHEN THE BUILDING OF POLITICAL POWER IN GRASSROOTS UNITS

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[Article by Zhang Qingfu [1728 1987 4395]]

[Text] Compared with the existing constitution, the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" promulgated by the NPC Standing Committee has made important reforms in some of the stipulations in the political power sector in urban and rural grassroots units. This draft of the revised constitution has changed the present integrated management system of people's communes, has stipulated the setting up of rural political power as an organization of rural grassroots political power and has retained the people's commune as a simple organization of collective economy no longer possessing political power and functions. This has made the functions of organs of state power and administration in urban and rural grassroots units more rational and clearly divided. Apart from this, it has also written the neighborhood committees and villagers' committees into the constitution. These stipulations provide constitutional safeguards for improving and strengthening the work of our urban and rural grassroots political power and are important measures enabling the people to exercise the rights of being their own master and building a highly democratic socialist political system.

In China, the content of the people's socialist democratic rights is very extensive and involves every sphere of the political life of the state and social life. However, its most vital and essential aspect is the active participation of the masses in managing the various affairs of the state and society and becoming genuine masters of the state. Lenin said: "It is important for us to draw literally all working people into the government of the state. It is a task of tremendous difficulty." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 123) Lenin also said: "The people need a republic in order to educate the masses in the methods of democracy. We need not only representation along democratic lines, but also the building of the entire state administration from the bottom up by the masses themselves, their effective participation in all of life's steps, and their active role in the administration." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 24, pp 153-154) Strengthening the building of political power in urban and rural grassroots units is precisely for the sake of drawing the working people by the millions from the bottom up to participate in administering the affairs

of the state. Only if the political power in urban and rural grassroots units is really produced as a result of direct election by the people and directly supervised and removed by them in accordance with the stipulations of the constitution can it become an authoritative organ of political power in the hands of the people and perform various functions stipulated by the constitution, and can the people bring their role into play in administering the affairs of the state and society and exercise the rights of being their own master.

The organ of political power at the urban and rural grassroots level is a basic organization of state power of the people's democratic dictatorship and an organic component of the whole state power system. It is directly responsible for the difficult task of mobilizing and organizing the masses to carry out the various construction assignments of the state and its own locality, and is an important base for various work of the state. At the same time, it is an organ of political power in direct contact with the masses and is the link between the party, the state and the people. The voices and demands of the people must also be reflected through it to state organs at various higher levels and directly to the central authorities. Strengthening the building of organs of political power at the grassroots level will bring the party and the state closer to the people and they will subject themselves to supervision by the people. Improving the work style of state organs will enable the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship to be established on a solid foundation and develop along the path of socialist democracy.

In this country of ours which has 800 million peasants, making a success of the building of political power in grassroots units is of especially important significance. Based on the past experiences of China in building rural political power, the draft of the revised constitution, in accordance with the principle of separating government administration from commune management, stipulates establishing rural political power while retaining the people's communes as collective economic organizations. This stipulation is helpful to improving and strengthening the work of organs of political power in rural grassroots units. Separating government administration from commune management will define the responsibilities of the party, the government and the enterprise so that each can attend to its own duties. This will prevent the concentration in the commune of party, government, financial and cultural powers in the hands of a few people. This will also help the organs of political power in grassroots units to cast off concrete production tasks and concentrate their energy in making a success of building political power, independently exercising their functions and power, and conscientiously performing their duties. At the same time, because the organs of political power in rural grassroots units are directly elected, supervised and removed by rural voters, this will contribute to their maintaining close ties with the masses of peasants and people and extensively listening to their views and demands. As a result of the effectiveness of their work, they will be able to: guarantee the observance and implementation of the constitution, laws and decrees as well as administrative laws and regulations in their own administrative district; decide on such major issues as economic construction, cultural construction and public works of

their own locality in accordance with the authority prescribed by law; supervise in their own administrative district such administrative work as economy, education, science, culture, public health and physical culture as well as finance, public security, civil administration and family planning so that various work of the state will be concretely carried out in the vast countryside and so that they can really become people's organs of political power representing the interests of the people, safeguarding the people's democratic rights and working for the masses.

Will the separation of political power in rural grassroots units from commune management weaken the leadership of the party? No, it will not. China is a socialist country of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. The Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole state power system. All state organs must carry out activities and develop work under the leadership of the party. This is a general principle of the activities carried out by socialist state organs. If we deviate from this principle, political work would lose its bearings and forfeit the quality of proletarian political power. However, the leadership of the party over state power definitely cannot be described as the amalgamation of party and state power, or that the party can take the place of the government. The leadership of the party over state power is mainly to exercise political leadership and not to monopolize concrete administrative and management work. The separation of government administration from commune management will enable party organizations in rural grassroots units to free themselves from tedious, trifling, routine matters so that they can go deep into reality for investigation and study, more effectively strengthen leadership in ideology and theory as well as in line, policies and principles over the organs of political power, intensify inspection and supervision over their work to enable them to advance along the correct orientation charted by the party and ensure the correct and concrete enforcement of the line, policies and principles of the party in every rural grassroots unit. At the same time, the separation of government administration from commune management will also help the party organizations in rural grassroots units make room for properly carrying out their own construction, strengthen education and supervision over the party members and enable the party organizations to really become the core and stronghold for rallying the masses in their advance so that the party members will truly play the exemplary role of vanguards at their respective stations.

The separation of government administration from commune management will also help perfect the rural collective economic organizations and promote the development of the national economy. As economic organizations, the people's communes are of a collective ownership nature. Their means of production and products are collectively owned, and the state as well as all other units cannot make gratuitous transfers but can only carry out exchange based on the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit. The separation of government administration from commune management will prevent state organs at higher levels from making gratuitous transfer of the manpower and material and financial resources of production teams. It will also help prevent the organs of political power from

excessively controlling production and livelihood by means of administrative orders and fostering such bureaucratic phenomena as resorting to coercion and commandeering and giving arbitrary and impracticable directions. It will help to safeguard the ownership as well as the administration and management decisionmaking power of commune collective economic organizations and also mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of peasants and people. At the same time, the separation of government administration from commune management can break the framework of administrative district restrictions. Based on the organic connections in socialist economy, division of labor and cooperation can be carried out beyond the districts and trades and among different ownership systems. In communes, production teams and various economic organizations can also establish genuine relations of cooperation on the basis of voluntary participation and mutual benefit. This will help agriculture to develop in a direction favorable to specialization and socialization and will cater to the needs of agricultural modernization.

The separation of government administration from commune management is the general trend and popular feeling. It reflects the needs of our rural and economic development. However, this reform is an important change involving the political and economic life of 800 million peasants. This is a very complicated and meticulous work and there is absolutely no room for carelessness or hasty changes. Work must be carried out in an orderly manner in accordance with the dispositions of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, and there must be leadership, preparations, plans and procedures and there must not be "across-the-board measures." At present and in the next few years after the formal adoption of the constitution, all localities should maintain the present system and continue to perfect various responsibility systems and readjust various grassroots organizations in accordance with the stipulations of the "Minutes of the National Conference on Rural Work" approved and transmitted by the Central Committee. However, we can first conduct tests at selected points based on unified planning and sum up experiences. Then on the basis of summing up experiences and after ample preparations and overall arrangements, we can gradually make changes by stages and in groups under guidance in accordance with specific conditions in various localities. At present, enterprises run by communes and production brigades are still led and managed by them. Even after the separation of government administration from commune management in the future, the enterprises run by the communes, production brigades or production teams and their property still belong to them and will not change as a result of the separation of government administration from commune management. This point must be made clear to all the commune members and commune cadres in order to avoid unnecessary ideological confusion which might result in economic and production losses. At present, the administration, management and organization of the agrotechnique popularization stations and agricultural machinery stations belonging to the communes are still under their responsibility and leadership. Such enterprises and units as supply and marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives set up at the commune level are still managed and led under the existing system. Unless a decision is made specifying so by a department in charge at a higher level, this cannot be changed at will. Before the formal establishment and

operation of rural organs of state power in the future, the work of various organs of political power in the rural areas at present is still managed respectively by the communes and the production brigades, and the responsibilities of the production team will continue to be in force. We must also continue to strengthen the work of party and league organizations. We must understand the important significance of the future separation of government administration from commune management to strengthening the building of political power in rural grassroots units and to developing rural collective economy. We must strengthen discipline, stand fast at our posts, conscientiously implement the various policies of the party and the state, and make a success of various work tasks.

In order to strengthen the work of organs of political power in our urban and rural grassroots units, the draft of the revised constitution makes the stipulations more explicit and rational than before in defining the functions of organs of state power and administrative organs in grassroots units. The differentiation made in the present constitution is not very explicit in this respect, and the functions of some administrative organs such as the planning of economic, cultural construction and public undertakings, the safeguarding of public property and the upholding of public order have been stipulated as the functions of organs of state power. The relevant stipulations in the draft of the revised constitution have remedied this defect. Not only this, but the draft of the revised constitution also makes more explicit and concrete than the present constitution the extent of the authority of local state administrative organs (including state administrative organs at grassroots level), and points out the limits of the authority of people's governments at various local levels, the management of the economy, education, science, culture, public health, physical culture and urban and rural construction in their own administrative district, as well as such administrative work as finance, public health, civil administration and family planning, the promulgation of decisions and orders and the appointment, dismissal, training and examination as well as the reward and punishment of administrative personnel. These stipulations in the draft of the revised constitution play an important role in enforcing the work responsibility system, raising work efficiency in state organs and getting rid of bureaucracy.

In order to strengthen the work of organs of political power in our urban and rural grassroots units and the masses, the draft of the revised constitution has also added the neighborhood committees and the villagers' committees into its content. Neighborhood committees and villagers' committees are important forms of organizations that have long proved effective in China. Although they are not a form of state power organs, they are important channels for organs of political power in grassroots units to maintain ties with the masses. According to the stipulations of the draft of the revised constitution, neighborhood committees and villagers' committees are mass organizations of self-government set up in cities and rural areas where people live in a community. The neighborhood committees and villagers' committees set up subcommittees for mediating disputes among the people and to help maintain public order. They also reflect the views and demands of the masses to the people's government, offer suggestions and

carry out supervision. This not only will enable the urban and rural residents, based on the principle "everybody's business should be handled by everybody," to solve problems in their own livelihood, production and study by means of the neighborhood committees and villagers' committees, and to strengthen unity among the people, but the organs of political power in urban and rural grassroots units can also, by means of such residents' self-government organizations, acquaint themselves with the views and demands of the masses, maintain close ties with the masses and guarantee the implementation of the line, policies and principles of the party as well as the laws and decrees of the state.

The stipulations in the draft of the revised constitution concerning the strengthening of organs of political power in grassroots units are a summation of the experiences in the building of political power carried out for a long time in our country. It can be affirmed that these stipulations will play an important role in persuading the masses to take part in the management of the state, guaranteeing the democratic rights of the people and promoting the four modernizations. Now the 23d Session of the 5th NPC Standing Committee will submit the draft of the revised constitution to the whole people for discussion, an important event in the political life of our country. All our citizens must actively take part in the discussion and conscientiously submit amendment suggestions so that our constitution will become more perfect and complete and the stipulations of the constitution concerning organs of political power in grassroots units will be more suited to our national conditions.

CSO: 4004/40

## SELECT AND APPOINT PERSONS OF ABILITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 16-19

[Article by Yang Fengchun [2799 6646 2504]]

[Text] "Selecting and appointing persons of ability" is a strategic task in carrying forward the proletarian revolutionary cause. It is also one of the major tasks in the present restructuring of government organizations and reform of the cadre system. It is aimed at vigorously developing the great socialist and communist cause pioneered by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and ensuring the successful realization of the construction of the socialist modernizations.

The restructuring of government organizations is being carried out smoothly. The organs directly under the CCP Central Committee and the State Council have been doing a good job in carrying out the party's line of "appointing people on their merits," paying serious attention to selecting outstanding young and middle-aged cadres for the leading bodies and enabling them to take part in or to take charge of the leadership work. What they have done enjoys warm support from the broad masses of cadres and people and has set a good example for the reform of party and government organizations at various levels.

The comrades who have been newly promoted to the leading bodies can certainly open up a new prospect in their work if they resolutely carry out the party's line, policies and principles, abide by party discipline, maintain close ties with the masses, are capable of independent work, active and resolute in doing their work, never seek private interests and dare to overcome difficulties. The old comrades who have left the leading posts will then feel relieved when they see with their own eyes that a large number of talented people have come forth from the contingent of the proletarian successors and that there is no lack of successors to carry on the proletarian revolutionary cause. It is necessary to help and support the younger comrades to take charge of the leadership work and do a good job in handling and taking over the work when the old comrades are still in good health. It is necessary to foster the revolutionary atmosphere in which every younger cadre at a leading post is working hard for the party and the people with a high sense of responsibility and every older comrade who has left his post is continuing to concern himself with the party's cause with

high revolutionary enthusiasm and is keeping up the good qualities of a party member. Thus, our purpose of abolishing the lifelong tenure of leading posts, which has really been existing, and preventing the aging of the leading bodies will be achieved. Besides, this is also an essential condition for ensuring the continuity of our party's line, policies and principles and for ensuring that our revolutionary cause is developed continuously toward prosperity. Therefore, "selecting and appointing persons of ability" is of far-reaching significance.

We have fulfilled the task of setting to rights things which have been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology and have a correct political line. However, in order to implement the party's correct ideology and realize the party's political line, there must also be a correct organizational line. Therefore, the cadres' quality, their steadfastness and loyalty toward the revolutionary cause, and whether they are capable, energetic and vigorous are of decisive importance. Without tens of thousands of leading cadres and backbone forces who have both ability and political integrity and are in their prime, it is impossible to complete the great historical task of leading the socialist modernization drive in a country with a population of 1 billion.

The old cadres must take on the responsibility of selecting and training their successors. This is the crux of "selecting and appointing people of ability," and is also the most glorious and sacred duty of the old cadres in the new historical period. In this respect, the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have set the whole party a brilliant example. Standing on a high plane and being farsighted, they have taken the interests of the party and the state as the supreme guiding principle for their ideology and action. They have conscientiously fostered and supported the younger comrades, who are not so capable, so experienced and qualified as themselves, to take charge of the important leading posts so that a new generation of leadership core can be shaped and our cause can be carried on and be uninterruptedly pushed forward. What they have done, which is good for the people and is enjoying the ardent support of the people, will always be spoken of highly by the masses of people and will thus go down in history to educate our descendants.

Many old comrades have voluntarily withdrawn from the front-line leading posts and "made way" for the younger and middle-aged cadres. They are naturally spoken of highly by the party and the people. Under the education of the party, our veteran comrades have always lived and fought together with the party and the people, whether in the war-ridden years or in the sun-scorched and rain-drenched days of construction. They have acquired good habits of diligently working and making revolution. Now, since they have become old and their energy and vigor have failed them in doing such intense and onerous work as they did when they were young, they have to leave their familiar environment. Some of them will retire and some will leave their posts for convalescence. It is natural that they feel reluctant to leave. We must understand their feelings and show every consideration for them. There are also a large number of old cadres who regained their posts after the smashing of the "gang of four" or after the party's cadre



policy was implemented. Although their prime of life for working for the party and the people was lost due to the persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they have never become despondent. They are capable, enthusiastic and are in good health. They are eager to work for more years for the party and the people so as to make up for the lost time. But proceeding from the long-term interests of the party and the state, they have voluntarily withdrawn from their posts so that the younger and middle-aged cadres can have more opportunity to take up the leading posts and give better play to their prime of life. We must learn from and develop this noble quality. At this juncture, the veteran comrades cannot but have mixed feelings. They are recalling the past, thinking of the future and caring for the present. They are concerning themselves with affairs of the party and the people, just like "an old steed in the stable aspiring to gallop a thousand li, and an old warrior cherishing high aspirations." Every one of us, working at our posts, must have a full understanding of all this, show every consideration for the ardent revolutionary feelings of the old comrades and never hurt their feelings. As to those who spread rumors and slander and say things that hurt the feelings of the old comrades and are harmful to the unity between old and young cadres, it is necessary to stop them from doing so and educate them. We must fully respect our veterans politically and take good care of them in their daily life. It is especially important for us to do a good job in the work our veterans have handed over to us. We must respect our veterans, earnestly learn from them, ask them for help and listen to their opinions and criticisms with an open mind.

There have always been obstructions to the selection and promotion of young cadres. This is not a question of whether one is enlightened or not but an expression of backward social habits and an erroneous conventional concept. According to these outworn concepts and habits, the maintenance of administrative power is a symbol of honor, position and material gains. These erroneous concepts and habits have now penetrated into the routine work of our party and government and have given shape to the lifelong tenure system, which was regarded and propagated as "carrying out revolution all one's life." Under this system, the comrades who had power in their hands were taken very good care of in a hundred ways while the retired old comrades were seldom thought of. Thus, various absurd remarks emerged, such as "power means truth" and "power means gains," and some vulgar and erroneous ideas such as leaving the leading post means being nonrevolutionary or committing mistakes, even such harmful and corrosive ideas as "using the power as much as possible before it is forfeited" have emerged. They have run completely counter to the Marxist revolutionary viewpoint of "public servants." If these erroneous conventional concepts and habits are not exposed, our reform will be seriously obstructed.

In this connection there is also a question of recognition. In the eyes of some comrades, young and middle-aged cadres are always immature, so they cannot be trusted to carry the heavy loads. This is certainly reasonable in some aspects, for young comrades are generally not so experienced as the old comrades and their understanding of party spirit and ability to take their bearings are not as good as the latter. But, on the other hand, since

they are younger, and are in the prime of life, just like the old comrades were when they were young, they are more eager to learn, more sensitive to fresh happenings and more diligent and indomitable in doing solid work. They also have closer ties with the masses. So, with the help of the old comrades, they will be able to grow rapidly and become successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. "Real knowledge comes from direct experience." Leaders can only acquire their knowledge, ability and methods by actually taking part in leadership work. At the actual leadership posts, the young cadres will be able to enhance their abilities, acquire experiences and become mature more rapidly and give better play to their role. Did our veterans not grow up in this way?

Some other comrades are apprehensive that the young and middle-aged cadres are not prestigious enough to lead the work. Analysis must be made on this question of qualifications and record of service. The qualifications and record of service reflect, to a certain extent, one's work experience. Having little experience and without a period of practical training, it is certainly difficult for one to do leadership work. However, by stressing one's revolutionary qualifications, we do not mean "judging one's ability merely according to one's qualifications and records of service." This is a wrong principle in cadre work. Some people always believe that they are better than the others and have thus adopted an uncooperative attitude toward the young and middle-aged cadres who have been promoted to the leading posts. Such an individualist attitude is certainly incorrect. Some people have advocated "being even with one another." Do they mean that a leadership post should be taken by everybody? There is nothing absolutely "even" in the world. The earth itself is uneven, too. To "judge people merely according to their qualifications and record of service" has never been the proletarian boldness of vision. What we must do is "select and appoint persons of ability." Anyone who has common political knowledge can understand this. However, this shows how the young and middle-aged cadres need the help and support of the veterans. In short, we must, proceeding from the whole situation and with a proletarian breadth of vision, take a broad and long-term view and select and train the successors. Otherwise, we shall commit an unforgivable historical error due to overcaution, indecision and hesitation.

In selecting and appointing young and middle-aged cadres, we must adhere to the criterion of having both ability and political integrity. There are different political criteria for different classes. For the proletariat, it means a firm proletarian class stand, high socialist consciousness and good political quality. As to ability, it means professional knowledge, work experience, being capable of solving problems and capable of implementing the party's line, policies and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in the light of the actual conditions. To judge whether one is of good political integrity, we must not merely judge it from one's temporary behavior, but mainly from one's political attitude since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. It is necessary to see whether one supports the party's political line, reaches political identity with the CCP Central Committee, adheres to the four basic principles, works hard and is ready to devote

one's self in the construction of the four modernizations. Those proven smash-and-grabbers, those who made their fortune through rebellion and those who have been seriously influenced by factionalism should never be allowed to enter the leading bodies at various levels. These people, as well as those who have seriously violated the law and discipline in the political and economic fields and those who have stubbornly rejected the implementation of the party's line, policies and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee must resolutely be transferred from the leadership posts if they are still in power. Those who are lazy, dispirited and selfish and who indulge in idle talk without doing concrete work should not be permitted into the leading bodies either. More attention should be paid to preventing those who are always inactive, unprincipled, deceitful, double-faced, fond of talking big, flattering, framing others and forming factional cliques and who enjoy no support from the masses from entering the leading bodies. Such political double-dealers are not only unreliable but also very dangerous. They have corrupted the party's work style, injured its relations with the masses and damaged its unity. They are careerists hidden in the revolutionary ranks. Those people who have only ability but are without good political integrity should not be admitted to the leading bodies. But to those comrades who have really corrected their past mistakes, we must not seize on their mistakes. If they must be transferred to important positions, we must not hesitate to do so.

It is necessary to give first priority to the political criterion in the training and selection of successors. This principle is not only adopted by the proletariat but was also adopted by all people of insight in the feudal society. Sima Guang, a feudal politician, said: "A man of moral character is respected, and a man of ability is loved. People usually keep a distance from the respected and are on intimate terms with the loved. For this reason, one can discover the ability of other people more easily than to know their moral characters. Since ancient times, prodigals of a family or treacherous court officials and arch careerists of a country were usually those who had ability but lacked moral integrity. Many countries and families were then subverted by such people. Therefore, if the leaders of a country or a family can draw a distinction between ability and moral character and know pretty well which is more important, then there will be no need to worry." ("Zi Zhi Tong Jian": "The Records of Zhou, the Twenty-Third Year of King Wei Lie") So, "when we select and promote cadres, it is necessary to find out whether they adhere to the socialist path. If a cadre does not adhere to the socialist path, he must be educated and transferred to another post." (Deng Xiaoping: "The Present Situation and Our Tasks") Secondly, an important condition for the selection and promotion of cadres is whether they possess scientific and professional knowledge. Under the present circumstances, anyone who does not possess scientific, technological and cultural knowledge will be unable to lead the construction of the four modernizations and shoulder the heavy loads of building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. Therefore, "no matter at what post one is working, one should acquire professional knowledge and be vocationally proficient. Those who have not acquired professional knowledge should start learning, and those who already have professional knowledge should continue learning. Anyone who is unable or reluctant to learn should

be transferred to another post. We must organize our leading bodies according to the demands of various professions, give full play to the role of professional cadres and help the broad masses of people in their study and work according to the demands of various professions." (Deng Xiaoping: "The Present Situation and Our Tasks") On the premise of combining both political integrity with ability, whether one is in the prime of one's life must also be taken into serious consideration today. In selecting cadres, it is necessary to be selfless, to take the whole situation into account, and proceed in all cases from the interests of the party and the state. Such practices as "judging cadres merely according to one's own judgment," and "arousing factionalism" are very harmful. In order to do a good job in this respect, it is necessary to follow the mass line and combine personal recommendation with organizational investigation as well as combine organizational investigation with soliciting opinions from the general public. In other words, it is necessary to select the comrades who meet the three requirements as cadres for the leading bodies so that the leadership power at various levels can be grasped by the active elements of the proletariat.

This restructuring of government organizations and the reform of our cadre system, including "selecting and appointing persons of ability," are a deep-going revolution. It is a great self-revolution of the proletariat after summing up historical experiences and lessons to overcome its own shortcomings. It is also an organizational preparation made through consolidating organizations for the great socialist construction. This is why when it was waged, it soon became a central task in the political life of the whole country. Having the destiny of the party and the state in mind, the broad masses of people, party members and cadres sincerely hope that this reform will be carried out successfully and that it will be carried out resolutely and through to the end. Some comrades are apprehensive that this great action cannot be finished since there are various obstructions and deep-rooted habits which are difficult to get rid of. Some other comrades, who are selfish and have proceeded from their private interests, are preoccupied with their personal gains and losses or are even full of grievances. Those who oppose us, including the remnants of the "gang of four," are looking on unconcerned with cold eyes. Some of them have even seized the opportunity to stir things up and tried to shake the will of the people, desiring to see the world plunged into chaos. In short, the restructuring of government organizations and the reform of our cadre system have found an echo in various social strata and there are various views and comments on them. However, the Chinese Communist Party, which takes the people's will and interests as its own, must do as the masses of people require. We have no reason to stop doing what the masses of people require us to do. There do exist difficulties, but we are full of confidence that we will win. We have already made the first step toward victory. We must continue to advance and never turn back or stop on the road of victory. We are sure to win successes if we are determined, firm and resolute and overcome all obstructions.

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## INVESTIGATION ON LIUZHUANG

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[Investigation report by joint investigation team comprising members of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee, Xinxiang Prefectural CCP Committee and Xinxiang County CCP Committee]

[Text] Qiliying commune's Liuzhuang brigade in Xinxiang County, Henan Province is located on the north Henan plains' old course of the Huanghe River. There are 207 households in the village [as published] with a population of 1,230. The village has a total cultivated area of 1,904 mu. As an advanced unit, it was well-known throughout the country as early as the 1950's. Over the past more than 20 years, members of the brigade have overcome all kinds of obstructions and have consistently persisted in steadily advancing along the socialist road. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, this brigade has achieved a big increase in production every year. In 1981, the brigade's per-mu grain yield reached 1,700 jin, its per-mu yield of ginned cotton reached 175 jin after encountering a natural disaster, its total collective income reached 2.52 million yuan, its per-capita income reached 2,050 yuan, and on the average, each person received 600 yuan through collective distribution. In 1981, the brigade sold 142,000 jin of grain, 170,000 jin of cotton and over 10,000 jin of oil to the state. In 1981, its public accumulation increased by 510,000 yuan, thus having an accumulative total of 5.3 million yuan. The accumulative total of 5.3 million yuan represents an average of 25,600 yuan per household. Every household in the brigade has surplus grain and bank savings. In 1981, the total amount of bank savings of all members of the brigade exceeded 800,000 yuan. This total amount means that on the average, each household has deposited over 3,800 yuan in the bank. The collective [as published] has built 41 two-story buildings and all members of the brigade have moved into new houses. The brigade's average housing space per person is 23 square meters. The village has 197 television sets, 315 radios, 265 electric fans, 609 wristwatches, 310 bicycles and 217 sewing machines. Some households in the brigade have also bought washing machines, cameras and motorcycles. The brigade also provides for its members free housing, free water and electricity supply, free medical care, free schooling, free nursery service, free hairdressing, free bathing facilities and free movies.

How did the party branch of Liuzhuang brigade lead the masses to build a new socialist village?

1. Proceed From Reality, Correctly Implement the Party's Policies, and Lead the Masses To Work Steadily and Make Solid Progress in Promoting Production and Construction

Comrades of the Liuzhuang brigade party branch always said: "What is our party's purpose in leading the masses to make revolution? The party simply wants to develop production and let the masses become well-off. We should proceed from this realistic point and try in every possible way to quicken the pace of developing production and construction, to increase the income of the masses of commune members and to make greater contributions to the state." Members of the party branch call this strong faith the pillar. With this pillar, they have persisted in proceeding from reality and correctly implemented the party's policies over the previous years. With this pillar, when they were kept waiting a long time for assignments, they were not downhearted or nervous; when they were given important assignments, they did not overdo their roles nor did they take a haughty attitude. In particular, the realistic spirit they showed when work involving the overall situation went wrong is really commendable.

In establishing advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives in 1956, some comrades thought that advanced cooperatives should be established on the largest possible scale and that some 20 elementary cooperatives in 7 natural villages should be integrated into one advanced cooperative. However, after consulting members throughout the village, the Liuzhuang party branch unanimously held that integrating over 1,000 households into an advanced cooperative would create production headaches due to the lack of management experience. Members of the party branch decided to integrate the village's three elementary cooperatives into one advanced cooperative. Higher authorities then did not recognize the Liuzhuang advanced cooperative. As a result, the Liuzhuang advanced cooperative was kept waiting for 6 months for assignments. After being put into practice for a year, the large-scale cooperative system got nowhere. Consequently, cooperatives established on a small scale in natural villages were restored while Liuzhuang promoted production.

In 1958, the rural areas engaged in grand large-scale battle tactics. The Liuzhuang party branch could only helplessly watch these tactics producing adverse effects on production. The strength of a single brigade was unable to stand up against this current. Consequently, the Liuzhuang party branch organized weak and female workers into a labor force for "supporting work in other localities" and reserved 100 strong workers to promote the brigade's production, thus reducing the brigade's production losses.

During the 10 years of upheaval, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" energetically criticized the "theory of productive forces," and preached fallacies such as "rather have socialist weeds than capitalist seedlings" and "poverty leads to revolution and prosperity leads to revisionism." None of these things shook the Liuzhuang party branch's will to grasp production.

No matter how chaotic the outside situation was, all trades and professions in Liuzhuang carried on as usual.

The Liuzhuang party branch upheld the Marxist-Leninist principle of seeking truth from facts. Not only did it not waver or vacillate during political storms, but it strictly carried out production and construction tasks in accordance with objective laws. At every stage, the party branch formulated feasible and realistic production plans and led the masses to work steadily and to make solid progress in developing the range and quality of production.

What history had left for the Liuzhuang people was a piece of barren saline-alkali land crisscrossed by ravines. Before liberation, it was said that, "In this area which has a circumference of 10 li, the poorest village is Liuzhuang village." In 1949, Liuzhuang's per-mu yield of grain barely exceeded 100 jin, its per-mu yield of ginned cotton was around 20 jin, the whole village's total income was between 30,000 and 40,000 yuan and its per-capita income was around 20 yuan. In face of this reality, the Liuzhuang party branch raised a loud and clear point: "To enable everyone to eat one's fill, it is imperative to change conditions." The party branch led members throughout the village to fight for 4 whole years. During the 4 years, they leveled land, dug irrigation ditches, sank wells, diverted water from the Huanghe River to their land, improved their saline-alkali soil, and turned the village's 750 low-yielding plots into a large piece of open and flat land. In 1957, the village's per-mu yield of grain reached 430 jin and its total grain output reached 280,000 jin. This meant its grain output increased more than five times. In the same year, the village exceeded 100 jin in per-mu yield of ginned cotton and its total ginned cotton output increased more than 10 times. The village's 1957 per-capita income from distribution reached 79 yuan. The village's problem in finding enough to eat and wear was then solved. Comrades in Liuzhuang described this stage as a stage for turning low yield into high yield. They also described it as a stage to lay foundations for eliminating poverty and achieving prosperity.

What did they do after turning low yield into high yield? On the basis of summing up experiences, the Liuzhuang party branch led the masses to further level their land. To provide "double insurance" against drought, they carried out both well irrigation and canal irrigation. They developed fine varieties by selection, improved cultivation techniques, gradually carried out mechanization of farm work, and established farmland with high, stable yields. In 1968, the village's per-mu yield of grain exceeded 1,000 jin and its per-mu yield of ginned cotton reached 176 jin.

Looking back on the 10-year course of the production development, the Liuzhuang party branch discovered that the growth rate of agricultural income was far lower than that of agricultural investment. During the 10 years, the village's per-capita income from distribution was always between 130 and 150 yuan. At the same time, with the further and continuous improvement in production conditions and management standards, and with the development of scientific farming and the increase in the number of farm machines, it was discovered that there were too many people and very few farm tasks in the

village. Through summing up experiences, the Liuzhuang party branch achieved a new leap in ideological understanding. Members of the party branch said: "If we do not develop a diversified economy, we will not be well-off in 100 years' time." From 1969-1975, while further grasping the promotion of grain and cotton production, they organized surplus labor forces to actively develop animal husbandry and forestry. The development of forestry and animal husbandry not only increased income and accumulated funds for promoting expanded reproduction but also supplied agriculture with a large amount of organic fertilizer, improved soil and promoted grain and cotton production. With a continued increase in funds, the village bought more farm machines, thus saving agricultural labor. As the labor and funds were available, the village successively set up a flour mill, a machinery plant, an ice cream factory and a cottonseed oil processing factory. Liuzhuang's total income in 1975 reached 540,000 yuan, compared with only 320,000 yuan in 1969. Its income from industrial and sideline production in 1975 accounted for 42 percent of its total income, compared with only 7.7 percent in 1969. The Liuzhuang party branch described this stage as a stage of all-round development. They also described it as a stage for achieving prosperity.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the Liuzhuang party branch further emancipated its mind and led the masses of cadres and people to enter a new stage for promoting the integrated management of agriculture, industry and commerce and all-round development. The party branch proceeded from Liuzhuang's reality and formulated two measures: 1) Setting up on a trial basis an integrated agriculture, industry and commerce undertaking and striving to increase economic returns. Under the guidance of higher authorities, they set up a shop, a business canteen and a food processing factory, expanded their paper mill, developed their breeding trade, and initially made production, supply and marketing a coordinated process. 2) Further perfecting the production responsibility system. The whole brigade was divided into six specialized departments, namely, agriculture, industrial and sideline production, animal husbandry, forestry and vegetable production, building construction, and machinery. The brigade's 12 production units carried out specialization in production, promoted business management, and established the production responsibility system which is characterized by "unified management, specialized production, division of labor and cooperation, and linking rewards and penalties to output." This gave better expression to the principle of distribution according to work, gave full play to the superiority of the collective economy, and mobilized village members' enthusiasm for promoting production. With the implementation of the two measures, Liuzhuang made three big steps in 3 years' time: the total income of the brigade's collective economy increased from 1.26 million yuan in 1978 to 2.52 million yuan in 1981, thus achieving an average increase of 26.1 percent; the brigade's per-capita income from collective distribution increased at an average rate of 26.3 percent; the brigade's grain, cotton and oil contributed to the state showed a yearly average increase of 4.8 percent; and the collective's public accumulation showed a yearly average increase of 11.2 percent. The development pace achieved since the third plenary session was unprecedented since the founding of the PRC.



Members of the Liuzhuang party branch who fight in the agricultural forefront the year round understand that going in for agriculture requires much study. To work in agriculture, one must not only have the courage to do so, but also have a good grasp of agriculture. Without raising scientific and technological standards, production cannot be developed in an all-round way.

Over the past 20 years and more, members of the Liuzhuang party branch consistently have taken the lead in studying science and technology and strived to turn themselves into experts in various production trades. As early as 1956, they had organized a scientific research group, carried out various experiments in grain and cotton production, insisted that "experiments should first be carried out in small plots prior to spreading successful experimental experiences over a large piece of land for growing field crops," solved knotty problems, set good examples, promoted production and served production units. Shi Laihe and Li Anren, respectively secretary and deputy secretary of the party branch, lived near the experimental plots with members of the brigade, observed the growth of their cotton day and night, the situation of plant diseases and insect pests and the results of various experiments; tried to learn the secret of cotton cultivation techniques, and summed up their experience in mastering high-yield cotton cultivation techniques: "Cotton seedlings should be managed in a timely manner; strong sprouts grow quickly; seedlings should be managed in accordance with the way they are growing; the growth of budded cotton can be stabilized by building racks; water and fertilizer should be applied ingeniously to promote the stable growth of cotton; and a high yield can be achieved by making unremitting efforts to promote cottonfield management." During the late 1960's, withering disease spread and cotton production was seriously threatened. They introduced disease-resistant varieties of cotton, promoted cotton variety development by systematic selection and through hybridization, developed over 10,000 single plants and several hundred hybrid combinations, and successively bred three types of disease-resistant and high-yield cotton varieties, namely, "Liuzhuang No 1," "Liuzhuang No 2" and "Liuzhuang No 3." These varieties of cotton have been demonstrated and popularized in this province and also in fraternal provinces. Through long-term practice, cadres of this brigade have turned themselves into experts in cotton production. Of the 17 members of the brigade party branch, 15 have been assessed as qualified technicians and some of them have become noted local experts in cotton production. The Liuzhuang Scientific Research Center has now become a scientific research organization engaged in the synthetic study of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and industry. The brigade now has a total of 107 qualified peasant technicians. The brigade has technical personnel engaged in various specialized trades and professions such as grain and cotton production, plant and crop protection, meteorology, pedology, animal husbandry, veterinary medicine, agricultural machinery, machinery, papermaking and food industry. The brigade party branch has also carried out technical training for members of the brigade through various forms and made great efforts to train and foster a generation of a new type of peasants with political consciousness, culture and technical capability.

To raise the scientific and technical standards for promoting production, there must be scientific management corresponding to the raising of the standards. With the development of production, the Liuzhuang brigade party branch has paid great attention to improving management work and tried in every possible way to increase economic returns. The party branch has divided members of the party branch and cadres of the brigade into three groups: the first group is in charge of grasping party building and the party's ideological and political work; the second group is in charge of the management of production and construction; and the third group is in charge of day-to-day administrative affairs. Every specialized department of the brigade has a leading group which is in charge of organizing production and management work. The brigade has a set of methods to manage production, marketing and distribution. With regard to labor management, the party branch has sent the brigade's 580 workers to various production units in accordance with their specialties and production needs. The party branch has carried out a careful calculation, clearly defined every worker's responsibility, adopted a quota management system and implemented the system of linking rewards and punishments with production output so as to give full play to every worker's special skill, to tap labor potentials and to make the best use of every worker. With regard to the management of industrial and sideline production, the party branch has stressed that brigade-run enterprises will not vie with state-run factories in purchasing raw materials; that brigade-run enterprises will just use local materials; that brigade-run enterprises will start with producing those products that only require a small investment but produce quick desired results and have a good market; and that brigade-run enterprises should adopt the "snowball" method of progressively developing their enterprises. The party branch has also stressed that brigade-run enterprises must pay attention to economic returns, avoid participating in losing ventures and avoid adopting dishonest practices. With regard to property management, the party branch stressed that it is imperative to uphold careful calculation and strict budgeting and to be industrious and thrifty in managing property. This system and these management methods organically integrate responsibility with power and profit, organically integrate political work with economic work and organically integrate centralized leadership with democratic management. They are advantageous to the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

## 2. Linking the Hearts of the Cadres and the Masses Together With Socialist Ideology Is an Important Social, Political and Ideological Condition for Liuzhuang's Incessant Progress

The Liuzhuang party branch persists in educating the commune members with socialist ideology so that, even though they are in Liuzhuang, the cadres and the masses have the whole country in mind, are united as one and are doing their utmost in building socialism.

In the practice of continuously educating the masses with socialism, it has acquired a set of methods and styles welcomed by the masses for carrying out lively and concrete ideological and political work and it has gradually regularized and systematized work in this respect. One thing it does is to

integrate political work with economic work and to carry out ideological work in every link of production. In each stage, it often helps the masses to understand what, how and why they should do something. It links each item of work with the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and asks the masses to participate in making plans and to put forth suggestions so that the masses can really become masters of the collective. Before doing anything, it first mobilizes the masses. Then, it checks the work while it is being done. Finally, it sums up the work when it is completed. It persists in selecting and commending the advanced, setting up typical exemplary examples and relying on the role played by the advanced to push forward work that affects the overall situation. Last year, the brigade set up 8 red banners, selected 12 advanced collectives, 120 model cadres, 71 model CYL members, 228 model commune members and 45 model families. Secondly, it adheres to the principle of giving guidance. Timely help is given instead of belated advice. Investigation is conducted before any problem crops up and the thoughts of the masses are well-understood. The Liuzhuang party branch watches out for symptoms of unhealthy tendencies and carries out timely education so that problems will not pile up before they are tackled. It carries out specific ideological work in accordance with the specific conditions of different individuals. If a problem cannot be solved right away, it waits patiently and in the meantime, creates conditions for solving it instead of making rash criticism. Thirdly, it helps the masses solve concrete problems while carrying out ideological work. It becomes a bosom friend of the commune members. When a commune member is ill or when he attends to a wedding or funeral ceremony, the cadres will visit them and help them solve concrete problems. Before each Spring Festival, the brigade has various kinds of goods provided for the occasion. Shortly before the busy farming season, the brigade arranges holidays for the commune members to visit their relatives, gather pig feed and attend to their private affairs. In the winter, the cadres send coal to the commune members and so on. Through the work mentioned above, the hearts of the commune members are closely linked with the collective economy. Fourthly, an exemplary role is played by party and CYL members and cadres and all party, CYL, women and militia organizations grasp ideological and political work. In Liuzhuang, the masses dare to criticize and check anything which is harmful to the collective and any words or deeds which are harmful to socialism. A new social practice of cadres supervising commune members, commune members supervising cadres and commune members supervising commune members has been formed. Fifth, it has formulated a set of feasible popular rules, welcomed by the masses, which are gradually changing into a new socialist moral code.

With the ever-deepening socialist education, profound changes have taken place in habits, customs and ideology which have lasted for several thousand years. New socialist relationships among men have appeared. People are united, help each other and love each other. Selflessness, putting other people's interests ahead of one's own, loving the collective and loving the country have become virtues treasured by Liuzhuang's commune members, while corruption, theft, speculation, profiteering, extravagance, waste and feudal superstition find no support. All the people of the village pay attention to civility and politeness, respect the old and take

care of the young and help and accommodate each other. In the past few years, no civil lawsuits have been filed. No one has applied for an audience with the higher authorities to appeal for help and no fighting has been reported. A new mood of socialist civilization is prevailing everywhere.

The people of Liuzhuang are united as one in building socialism. The lofty ideal of taking the socialist road is remarkably expressed in their correctly handling the relationship between the interests of the state, the collectives and individuals. Liuzhuang is located in an area where grain and cotton are the main crops. According to the state's planting plan, it is to plant 1,000 mu of cotton and 800 mu of grain crops each year. In order to ensure fulfillment of the state purchasing plan, it did not reduce even 1 mu of land to plant cotton when the people there had difficulties in their livelihood; and after the price of cotton was raised, it did not reduce even 1 mu of land to plant grain crops either. The comrades of the party branch said: The tasks of selling grain and cotton assigned by the higher authorities are based on the needs of the overall situation. We cannot care only about our own interests at present and disregard the needs of the state. Our small family--Liuzhuang--cannot be separated from the big family--the state. In selling agricultural and sideline products to the state over the past 20 years or more, the Liuzhuang brigade has sold a large amount of surplus grain, cotton, oil, meat, eggs and other agricultural and sideline products in addition to fulfilling the state purchasing tasks. It has never sold its cotton or grain to brokers.

The noble socialist virtues of the people of Liuzhuang are also concentratedly expressed in their upholding and developing the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. In the course of developing production, their foothold has always been their own strength. The comrades of Liuzhuang said: "We can only depend on our own hands to get rich. If we depend on outside help to become rich, our wealth will not last long. The more we depend on outside help, the lazier we will become and the more we depend on outside help, the less aspirations we will have. A lazy person cannot be a pioneer!" As early as in 1956 when the advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives were formed, Liuzhuang suffered from a serious flood. The wheat decayed and the output of autumn grain dropped. While summing up experiences and lessons, the Liuzhuang party branch organized the commune members to provide for and help themselves by engaging in production, to plant vegetables, to develop sideline production and to gather grass in order to provide food for the people and the horses. This set the people's minds at rest and helped the commune members see the strength of the collective and the superiority of socialism. After production was developed and their livelihood became well-off, they still depended on the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle in doing pioneering work and blazing new trails. When they developed animal husbandry in 1964, they endeavored to get more done with less money. They spent 90 yuan to buy 3 milk cows and increased the number mainly by breeding their own animals. At present, the number has increased to 110 and the value of their cows amounts to 130,000 yuan. Later, they bought 27 mares from Xinjiang and also increased their number by breeding their own animals. At present, the

number of livestock is 320, and the annual income from animal husbandry alone may reach over 200,000 yuan. The cadres and the masses of Liuzhuang also display a valuable spirit of assiduity in developing industry and sideline production. In 1975, the horn of Liuzhuang's tractor broke and they were not able to buy a new one. The brigade repair plant set out to make a horn themselves. They removed the old horn, dismantled it and put it together again and again in order to study it. They continued to improve their process and after half a year's efforts, they finally succeeded in producing a horn on a trial basis. Later, they not only were able to satisfy their own needs but also were able to produce horns in large quantities and to supply markets in 20 provinces. This kind of product alone brings in an annual income of 400,000 to 500,000 yuan. The production of horns has greatly enhanced the development of industry and sideline production in Liuzhuang. In developing production, Liuzhuang does not depend on outside help. In improving the living conditions and in building a new countryside, it depends even more on the people's own hands to do difficult pioneering work. To build residential houses, Liuzhuang needed over 10 million bricks, 2,400 cubic meters of wood, an investment of 1.5 million yuan and over 300,000 work days. It resolutely refused to ask the state for help. It did not depend on the help of others. Nor did it ask the commune members to bear the expenses. The people of Liuzhuang made bricks, gathered materials and constructed doors and windows themselves. They did not have enough people skilled in house building; so, people improved their skills and trained others while they worked. In 50 days' time, they completed the first house. In the beginning, only 1.5 men were skilled at brick laying, tiling and plastering. Later, 150 persons were able to do so, of which 90 were women. The number of carpenters was increased from 6 to 30. In this way, a new residential area was built within 6 years. This has not only created material wealth for Liuzhuang's future generations but also left behind for them the valuable spirit of struggling hard in doing pioneering work.

### 3. Strengthening the Party's Own Building and Giving Full Play to the Role of a Fighting Bastion of the Party Branch Is a Fundamental Guarantee to Liuzhuang's Incessant Progress

The comrades of the Liuzhuang party branch said: "If one is not really up to the mark, nobody will listen to him." In the course of continuously strengthening the party branch, they have set up and amplified seven systems step by step: One is the system of democratic life meetings. Each month, the party groups hold one democratic life meeting to carry out criticism and self-criticism, and members of the branch committee lead dual organizational lines. Within the party, they set high and strict political and ideological demands for party members. They frequently check the situation of the party members and give them as much help as possible. Second is the system for study and party lecture education. Each month, the party branch holds one meeting of all its members at which it gives party lectures, helps its members to study current affairs and policies and educate them with the party's basic knowledge and the party's fine traditions. Third is the system of having heart-to-heart talks. The secretary, committee members and party members often have heart-to-heart talks to exchange views and

to reflect the demands of the masses. Fourth is the system of party members forming ties with households. Besides doing a good job in the ideological and political work of their own families, each of the 68 party members have formed ties with 2 to 3 households of commune members in order to publicize to them the party's principles and policies and to help the commune members manage their families democratically and carry out family ideological work properly. The party groups and branch committee regularly listen to party members' reports on their mass work. Fifth is the system of assessing party members and the party branch twice a year. Sixth is the system of examining party members. This is linked with activities of striving to become advanced and fine party members. A preliminary examination is made in the middle of the year and a final one at yearend. This is for summing up advanced experiences and for commending the advanced. Seventh is the system of reelecting the party branch regularly. The party branch is reelected once a year. Among the 17 party branch committee members at present are former cadres from the land reform period who have rich experience, middle-aged cadres who were already cadres when the agricultural cooperatives or the people's communes were set up and young cadres who have been trained in the past few years. The oldest is over 50 years old. Most of them are 30-40. The youngest is 27.

The members of the party branch consciously accept supervision by party members and the masses, set strict demands on themselves in line with criterion of party members and set an example in all respects. They have made a few simple rules to be observed by all concerned, namely, not seeking privileges, taking the lead in work, linking their hearts with those of the masses and uniting with them in one mind. Old secretary Shi Laihe of this party branch set an example for the rank and file. After being secretary of the county and even the prefectural CCP committee, he still continues to work and always has the well-being of the masses at heart. There are six big elm trees in his courtyard. One woodworking team of another brigade offered him 2,700 yuan for them, but he refused. Instead, he sold them to his own brigade for 1,500 yuan to be used for house building. Deputy secretary Li Anren, known as a willing ox among the masses, takes the initiative in all work and thinks of the masses at every crucial moment. For years, no cadres have borrowed public grain or asked for allowances. On rainy days or holidays, when commune members do not work, cadres do not record workpoints. At the end of the year, the average distribution of income for cadres is usually lower than that of corresponding workers by 5-10 percent. Cadres often take the lead in building new houses, but they are always the last to move into these houses. To this, the masses said: Cadres are racking their brains for us; we cannot help but work hard with one heart and one mind. While all members of the party branch are setting examples in all aspects, all ordinary members strive to be models. In building the new village, at first there were no bricklayers. Female party members Liu Quiying and Shi Shilan took the lead in climbing up the scaffolding to learn how to do it themselves. As a result, the first group of female bricklayers appeared in the village. In order to learn how to operate lathes well to improve the quality of products, young party member Shi Shiling asked for advice with an open mind and made time for self-study. He finished all his university courses within 3 years and has

become an expert in both mechanical and electrical designing and operation. At the end of last year, the party branch of the brigade called on the masses to assess all party members. In the appraisal, 16 of 17 members of the party branch were selected model cadres and 64 of 68 party members were assessed as outstanding party members--the remaining 4 were old and weak or had been temporarily transferred to work elsewhere. Eight party members were also chosen as pacesetters on various fronts.

Over the past 30 years or more, the party branch of the Liuzhuang brigade has stood relatively fast and firm because of its solid construction and close unity with the masses. It has stood tests of political storms and waves in society, but it also has time and again repelled attacks by evil tendencies. Last summer, one purchaser bought 5 tons of rubber from the south, which at that time was in short supply in Henan Province. If the 5 tons of rubber were sold to Henan, the collective immediately could make a profit of 4,000 yuan. When the purchaser explained the situation to the party branch, all members uniformly pointed out: Rubber is a state monopoly purchase item. If we transport it for sale for personal reasons, this will be tantamount to undermining socialism. Liuzhuang will never take this ill-gotten money. Consequently, they made a decision to return all the goods.

In spite of achievements, all members of the party branch of Liuzhuang brigade still set high demands on themselves in line with party's requirements and the level of advanced units in the country. They do not think that they have done enough, but think they still have far to go. In spite of repeated commendations and encouragement from the superior levels, they always believe that they have done what they should and all achievements must be attributed to the party and the people. On the eve of the last Spring Festival RENMIN RIBAO published the report on Liuzhuang brigade. The masses of Liuzhuang were greatly inspired. Beginning on 3 January of the lunar calendar the party branch held a series of consecutive meetings among its members, ordinary party members, cadres and the masses in order to determine where they have fallen short, even though they have achieved success, and to try to tap their potentials. The cadres and the masses held identical views: The economic results in production are not so satisfactory; improvement is still needed in some spheres of management. More potentials can be tapped in utilizing land and facilities. In particular, the party organizational building as well as political and ideological work cannot properly meet the needs of the general tasks in the new situation. There is a big gap between the cultural life and technical level of commune members as well as the demands of building modernization of agriculture. With this in mind, they immediately mapped out plans and adopted measures with a resolution in response to the call of the party Central Committee in order to achieve new victory in the building of material and spiritual civilizations and to make greater contributions to the country.

The example of Liuzhuang shows that if our policies are correct and there is a good leading group in the rural grassroots units, and if we really insist on carrying out the production responsibility system according to local conditions and do a solid job of grasping production planning, our agriculture will indeed be full of vigor and have a bright future!

## EMANCIPATION OF PHILOSOPHY AND STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY

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[Article by Liang Zhao [2733 6856] and Tan Sizhe [6223 1895 0772]]

[Text] Emancipation of philosophy is a correct thinking formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the protracted revolutionary struggle. Since the founding of the PRC, emancipation of philosophy has played an important role in promoting the broad ranks of cadres and the masses to study Marxist philosophy. However, there were deviations in practice. Under the new historical conditions, there are different views on the study and propaganda of philosophy and on whether or not we should uphold emancipation of philosophy. Regarding this question, we held that it is necessary to carry out discussions in the manner of seeking truth from facts and correctly sum up experiences so as to arrive at a unified understanding.

Generally speaking, there are two interpretations for emancipation of philosophy. First, the emancipation from the yoke of the old system of philosophical thought and the creation of a new philosophical thought. Second, the emancipation from classrooms and textbooks, so that philosophy will become a great tool for the broad masses of the people to understand and transform the world. The emancipation of philosophy mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong was of the latter type. Early in 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "To oppose subjectivism, we must advocate materialism and dialectics." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 785) In 1957, at the meeting of Communist Party and Workers' Party representatives in Moscow, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Dialectics must proceed from the circles of philosophers to the broad masses of the people." Later, he further pointed out: "Let philosophy be emancipated from the classrooms and textbooks of philosophers and become the sharp weapon of the masses." This is an important contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxist philosophy.

Originally, the emancipation of philosophy was in itself a requirement of Marxist philosophy. Before the birth of Marxism, philosophy was separated from the working people. However, since the proletariat became an independent force on the historical scene, in order to oppose the capitalist system and fulfill the historical mission of emancipating the whole of mankind, it needed its own philosophy to serve as a weapon for understanding and transforming the world. As Marx said: "Philosophy treats the



proletariat as its material weapon, likewise, the proletariat treats philosophy as its spiritual weapon." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 15) The birth of Marxist philosophy suits the proletariat's needs of understanding and transforming the world. Its birth has realized the great transformation of philosophy and put an end to the situation of philosophy being opposed to the laboring masses.

Emancipation of philosophy is also demanded by the people of our country for carrying out revolution and construction. After the victory of the October Revolution, Marxism-Leninism spread to China. The progressives used dialectical materialism and historical materialism as tools to study the fate of our country and our nation. They understood that we must follow the path of the Russians. However, since the situation in our country was special, shortly after the founding of our party, the party led the people to plunge into a protracted arduous armed struggle and in this situation, many comrades could not carry out in-depth and systematic studies of Marxist theory. Therefore, they did not have sufficient understanding of theories and because of this, our party made several mistakes in guiding ideology. There was the rightist capitulationism during the period of the great revolution. During the second revolutionary civil war, we were bogged down in "leftist" adventurism, in particular the errors of Wang Ming. We nearly ruined the Chinese revolutionary cause. From the point of view of understanding the root cause, these errors occurred mainly because subjective views deviated from the objective situation and our thinking did not conform with the actual situation. At that time, many comrades of the party did not realize these errors. On the contrary, they themselves also committed the same mistake. The negative experiences of history have taught us that if we do not study Marxist theory and understand Marxist philosophy, we will not be able to guarantee that the revolutionary cause will advance heroically along the correct path.

In view of the above situations, after the Red Army arrived in northern Shaanxi on the Long March, Comrade Mao Zedong started to promote the study of philosophy and mobilized the whole party to seriously sum up the historical experiences. Comrade Mao Zedong himself organized philosophical study groups and under his guidance, a new society of philosophy was established. He also gave philosophical lessons in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University in Yanan and aroused the students to use philosophy as a weapon to analyze the problems of the Chinese revolution. Under the advocacy of Comrade Mao Zedong, the study of philosophy became common practice among the cadres, in particular, senior cadres in Yanan. In 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong led the Yanan rectification movement. He used Marxism-Leninism to teach the broad ranks of cadres to oppose subjectivism, factionalism and stereotyped party writing then prevailing inside the party, and to expose and criticize the "leftist" or rightist errors in the history of the party, in particular, the "leftist" adventurism of Wang Ming. As a result, the thinking of the party was unprecedentedly unified and this laid a firm ideological foundation for the final victory of the war of resistance against Japan and for the establishment of new China. This rectification movement was, in a sense, a profound emancipation of philosophy.

Since the founding of the PRC, our country has made the transition from new democratism to socialism. In an economically backward country like ours, how to carry out socialist reform and construction in accordance with the actual situation of our country is a new issue for the broad ranks of cadres in terms of theory and practice. Although the theoretical level of the cadres had improved, in general, they could not meet the demands of the situation. In order to improve the theoretical standard of the cadres, the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the study of Marxist philosophy and demanded them to use the stand, viewpoints and methods of dialectical materialism to analyze and sum up the new experiences of socialist revolution and construction. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The basic thing is Marxist philosophy. If we do not have a thorough understanding of Marxist philosophy, we will not have any common language and methods. Then, we will not be able to understand each other. If we have the thinking of dialectical materialism, we can save much effort and avoid many mistakes." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 145) At that time, the broad ranks of cadres actively responded to the call of the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. They diligently studied Marxist philosophy and the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong. The study was also launched among some workers, peasants and PLA fighters. In the course of the study, the philosophical workers did a lot of work.

In retrospect, the achievement of the broad ranks of cadres and the masses was primary and outstanding. Many cadres had studied the principal Marxist philosophical works in a relatively systematic manner and had a preliminary understanding of the basic principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In particular, many comrades had studied "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" and used the basic viewpoints to analyze the practical problems of socialist construction in their local districts and units. They used the viewpoint of the unity of opposites to observe and handle various contradictions in their work. In practice, they continued to improve their understanding of objective matters and scored very good results in solving many difficult problems. In the course of the study, integrating with their actual situations, some comrades wrote many vivid and impressive articles to describe their personal experiences. All this played a positive role in the socialist construction in our country.

We must point out that Comrade Mao Zedong took dialectical materialism as the thinking and working method for practical work which should be comprehended by the broad ranks of cadres and the masses as a very important aspect of the emancipation of philosophy. In accordance with the viewpoints of dialectical materialism, he devised a system of scientific methods to ensure the successful realization of all tasks, such as upholding the theory of two points; looking at questions from an overall point of view; from the masses, to the masses; distinguishing the principal aspects from secondary aspects; walking on two legs; grasping the two ends to bring along the middle; dissecting a sparrow; learning how to play the piano; having a good idea of how things stand; allowing for unforeseen circumstances and paying attention to the fact that one tendency conceals another. Thus, the skills and standard of leadership of our party's cadres were further promoted. This is what Comrade Mao Zedong did to enrich and develop Marxist philosophy.

It cannot be denied that there are deviations in the course of implementing emancipation of philosophy and organizing study of philosophy. There are many complications. In our view, there are two major questions:

First, the tendency of formalism. At that time, people in some places disregarded the existing conditions and the will of the masses, and compelled everybody to study philosophy by hard and fast rules. The masses in some places were gathered to study several philosophical quotations and philosophical terms, and this was regarded as mass study of philosophy. People in some places regarded the number of participants in philosophical classes as the criteria to appraise the political understanding of the masses. Such formalistic practice was in fact fraudulent practice which seriously undermined the reputation of the emancipation of philosophy.

Second, the tendency of simplification and vulgarization. At that time, instead of carrying out scientific analysis and practically solving practical problems, some people treated philosophical concepts as labels and stuck them everywhere without discrimination. Some of them rigidly associated study of philosophy with some scientific and technological creations, inventions and discoveries, and said that they were achievements of Mao Zedong philosophical thought in disregard of the actual situation. Others mechanically applied strategic and tactical thinking to medical science without specific analysis. Obviously, this is not genuine integration of theory with practice, instead this is a manifestation of simplification and vulgarization.

Why should there be the above-mentioned deviations? We must analyze them in association with the historical background at the time. After socialist reform has been basically completed, our party led the people of all nationalities in our country to launch a large-scale socialist construction. Since we did not understand the law of economic development and the basic situation of the Chinese economy, and since we were conceited and arrogant in face of victory, we were overanxious for success in economic aspects and promoted the "Great Leap Forward" in disregard of the actual situation in an attempt to change the impoverished and backward situation in our country within a short period of time. Such thinking was also reflected in the emancipation of philosophy. As we all know, Marxist philosophy is a science. To grasp its essence, we must work very hard. In particular, we must work arduously and carry out serious thinking by adopting a philosophical viewpoint to analyze the actual situation and solve practical problems. However, to some people, the study of philosophy is an easy task, and achievements can be scored without much effort. Under the influence of such thinking, some unhealthy phenomena emerged in the course of studying philosophy. At that time, the relevant departments of the CCP Central Committee recognized the above-mentioned deviations and issued documents to demand the cadres and the masses to correct their incorrect methods of studying philosophy. However, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and their cronies turned things upside down and declared the criticism as a crime of "anti-Mao Zedong Thought." In this way, not only were deviations in the study of

philosophy not corrected, but they were taken to extremes by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and their cronies, to the extent of being absurd.

Do these deviations indicate that the orientation of emancipation of philosophy is incorrect? Certainly, they do not. This can only indicate that we have not done a good job of integrating philosophy with practice. Such situations are very common in actual life: Although the policies and principles of a certain project are correct, since we do not have a thorough understanding of them, or because we do not have a thorough understanding of the objective reality, or because of subjective, one-sided and superficial thinking and working methods, we may achieve opposite results. Therefore, we must make serious and specific analysis of the deviations in our work. We must make clear whether they are problems of policies and principles or problems arising from errors during the execution of the policies and principles. It is obvious that we must not simply put all the blame on the orientation of the emancipation of philosophy when dealing with the deviations of the cadres and the masses in the course of studying philosophy. The orientation of the emancipation of philosophy must not be negated. Otherwise, this will result in negating the historical mission of Marxist philosophy and the use of Marxist philosophy as the sharp weapon for the proletariat and the revolutionary people to understand and transform the world.

At present, we are faced with the great task of building a modern, highly democratic and civilized powerful socialist country. Due to the 10 years of internal disorder, the theoretical studies of the broad ranks of the masses were stopped and many theories were confused. The young generation does not have any understanding of Marxist theories. The dialectical materialist work methods and work style of our party were sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In order to shoulder the historical responsibility, we must correctly sum up the past experiences, further study Marxist philosophy, Mao Zedong Thought and have a genuine understanding of the sharp weapon of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. We must uphold and exemplify the past practice of integrating theory with practice, and do a good job of preventing formalism, simplification and vulgarization, so that everybody will seriously study theories from textbooks, comprehend the stand, viewpoints and methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and integrate the actual situations of the local districts and units to solve the new situations and problems in the course of the four modernizations.

Some comrades say, "Since the current policies and principles of the party are correct, it will be all right if we adhere to them. Why bother to study philosophy?" This is obviously a confused idea. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, that the party's line, principles and policies are correct, that they conform to the actual situation of our country and the will of the people and that they display great power, lie on the fact that they are founded on the basis of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. If we do not study philosophy, it is obvious that we can neither have a profound understanding of it nor be able to correctly implement it. If we can master philosophy and ponder problems from the

world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism, we will be able to get rid of some narrow views and grasp the essence of the party's policies and principles from a unified subjective and objective point of view and integrate them with the actual situation of the local districts and departments, so as to score better achievements.

Some comrades held: Study of philosophy is too vague and general and abstract. They would rather do some practical work than studying philosophy. As a matter of fact, we must do more practical work in the course of building the four modernizations. However, to do a good job of practical work, we must have a correct guiding ideology and a scientific working method. Philosophy is precisely a learning that teaches us how to do a good job of the practical work in the world outlook and methodological aspects. Seeking truth from facts, proceeding from the actual situation, and integrating theory with practice are the gist of Marxist philosophy and a prerequisite for doing well in all tasks. To succeed in any task, we must not deviate from this basic thinking. If we do not proceed from the actual situation of the local districts and units and randomly make suggestions in disregard of the objective conditions, we are sure to run into a stone wall. Therefore, if we do not study Marxist philosophy and do not understand its stand, viewpoints and methods, we will not be able to achieve our aim although we want to do some practical work. Frankly speaking, philosophical theories are comparatively abstract and generalized. However, past experiences have proven that if we work hard to understand the basic viewpoints of philosophy, and use them to analyze the practical problems arising in the course of socialist construction, philosophical theories are very concrete and practical. In other words, mastering philosophy is not something unattainable.

Some comrades are worried that upholding emancipation of philosophy will hinder us from deepening our understanding and that the standard of academic studies will be lowered. Such worries are unnecessary. The main tasks for the study of philosophy are to integrate the current actual situation with the study of new problems and new situations in the course of the socialist movement and socialist modernization. In accordance with the basic theories of Marxist philosophy, to give some scientific and simple explanations for the actual current situations is an unshirkable duty of every professional worker of philosophy. Real life poses many new problems for us; theoretical workers are compelled to carry out in-depth analysis and give scientific answers. However, we have not done enough in this respect. Up till now, there are not too many articles and works that profoundly analyze and explain the new situation and problems that emerge in the course of building the four modernizations from the high plane of philosophy. This shows that the study of philosophy does not conform with the requirement of the four modernizations. Thus, we must work harder. This is the requirement of the emancipation of philosophy and that of the study of philosophy.

We do not have any experience in carrying out socialist modernization in our country. It is necessary for us to understand the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism so that our understanding will conform with the objective reality and our cause will effectively and steadily develop. Only if we do a practical hard job, will we be able to score good results in the study of philosophy. Hence, we will be able to make greater contributions to the socialist modernization.

SHOUT ALOUD FOR THE WORK OF GATHERING MATERIALS--FOREWORD TO THE BOOK  
'DISPUTED PROBLEMS IN SOCIALIST ECONOMIC THEORY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 30-31

[Article by Mao Zhongyang [7456 0112 2254]]

[Text] While publishing "Disputed Problems in Socialist Economic Theory" as a reference book, apart from extending my respects to the comrades who have put in a lot of work into gathering materials, editing and publishing this reference book, I would like to say something which I have wanted to say for a long time concerning the work of gathering materials. Since I want to stress the work of gathering materials, I call it shouting aloud.

One very important but also very weak link on our ideological and theoretical fronts is the work of gathering materials. Once we start with our study, in whatever field or problem, the problem of material will confront us in a glaring way. Marx said: "To study, we must fully possess materials, make an analysis of its various forms of development and probe the internal relations of these forms. Only when this work has been completed, can the actual movement be appropriately described." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 23) Without materials or without possessing large quantities of materials, how can we conduct our study and research? How can we avoid indulging in empty talk? Materials are the basis for scientific research and also the basis for propaganda work. They are the indispensable raw and semifinished information for all intellectual products. Intellectual products without raw or semifinished materials are like water without a source; like a tree without roots. Although they bear every conceivable name, they are nothing but castles in the air. In order to really ensure that our ideological and theoretical fronts meet the demands of the four modernizations program, it is necessary, first of all, to do a solid and practical job in the work of gathering materials. This work is not only the basis for research work and propaganda work but also the frontline and logistics of all struggles led by our party and also the source and guide in carrying out the various aspects of our work. This appropriately reflects the position and role of the work of gathering materials, and is not just an exaggeration.

However, quite a few comrades in some of our scientific research and teaching units and other units lack a proper understanding of the position and

role of the work of gathering materials and as a result, they have adopted inappropriate work styles. Some units put the work of gathering materials in an unessential place. The setup of organizations and the assignment of personnel are less than perfect and inappropriate. Some units only manage to do some work of receiving and disseminating as well as preserving materials and they even fail to do a good job in this work. Some units also regard those organs which gather materials as the collecting points for housing idle personnel and let those who are not occupied "undergo a transition" there! Still other units use the money intended for subscribing to newspapers and books and periodicals for other purposes in order to "practice thrift." This phenomena warrants serious attention. In order to practically and effectively carry out the modernization program of our motherland and build a highly developed material civilization and spiritual civilization, it is vital to have reliable and sufficient materials as the foundation. We have paid too high a price for this and have profound lessons to draw from it. We must not commit such idealist follies any more and must no longer tell lies, brag or indulge in empty talk. If no serious changes are effected and no strong measures are adopted on this matter, how then can we say that we are implementing the principle of seeking truth from facts?

The work of gathering materials is a difficult job requiring arduous efforts. It requires not only diligent and conscientious efforts but also firm and indomitable willpower and the spirit of not minding the effort and gradually accumulating materials for a long time and also the spirit of serving other people enthusiastically and conscientiously on one's own initiative. Those who drift along aimlessly, seek an idle life, are afraid of trivial matters and impatient as well as crude and careless will be unable to gather materials well, and those who crave for fame and are pretentious and unwilling to serve others will also be unable to do the work of gathering materials well. The value in material lies in its ability to be accumulated, complete and systematic. We must not go fishing for 3 days and dry the net for 2 and not be prompted by sudden impulses and do things as the heart desires. Materials should be abundant and complete. Furthermore, they should be gathered and explored selectively with a definite purpose and stress different key points. At the same time, materials should be constantly processed, sorted out and improved so as to make it convenient to use. In regard to the use of materials, one must not imagine that every piece of material can be put to instant use on finished products. The so-called shooting with unflinching accuracy is not the goal and demand of the work of gathering materials. So long as some of the vast material we have gathered for a long time is useful, and even if specific pieces are useful, or useful for a short while, our work can be regarded as successful. The work of gathering materials is a kind of capital construction. Materials are the storage of spiritual wealth. The work of gathering materials itself cannot determine when or how much of the materials will be used. We must not approach this matter in a shortsighted way.

The work of gathering materials requires being practical and realistic. Gathering materials in a subjective and one-sided way will have extremely harmful consequences. This problem remains fresh in our memory from

experience. We must not repeat those mistakes. Of course, materials and particularly social materials are always processed by people. Any processing and sorting out of materials will bear the mark of the ideology of the processors and the mark of our times. Thus, the original natural appearance is lost and the materials cease to be an objective accumulation. However, upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts and subjective prejudice are two entirely different things. It is wrong to confuse them.

Some people do not understand the true relationship between the work of gathering materials and research work and frequently underrate the former and stress the latter. This is wrong. It is well known that in writing his "Das Kapital," Marx read more than 1,500 books and extracts and the notes he made on them equalled more than 100 books; in order to write his "Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin gathered huge amounts of materials and made a lot of notes. All this data was included in the "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 39. These facts prove that Marx and Lenin were both models for research workers and also models for workers engaged in the work of gathering materials.

Although some people have various misunderstandings about the work of gathering materials, no one denies the extreme importance of materials to the building of our material civilization and spiritual civilization. The comrades engaged in the work of gathering materials are indeed arduous workers, unknown to the public. This is not an undertaking which amazes the world with a single feat. People very often will admire how certain engineers display their talents before a magnificent building, but few people care who actually built it with their craftsmanship and wisdom. On what buildings on earth have the names of the builders ever been engraved? I have no intention of belittling the role and position of the engineers and of asking that the workers and engineers be listed together as "starts" who are treated equally by the people. What I hope is that while giving publicity to the well-known heroes, we never forget those unknown heroes!

At present, our work of gathering materials is still very weak. This is the common feeling of every person who uses materials. Therefore, strengthening the work of gathering materials has become a common demand of many comrades. It is startling how few reference books and periodicals we have published. This state of affairs must not be allowed to continue. Time means life. One effective method for putting an end to the backwardness in our culture and work is to start with the work of gathering materials. Being aware of the importance of this matter to our ideological front, I have aired my views. If they are wrong or inaccurate, I look forward to your--fellow comrades--criticism and corrections.

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## DIMITROV AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 32-35

[Article by Ma Xipu]

[Text] This year will witness the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, outstanding activist of the international communist movement and leader of the Bulgarian people. Dimitrov devoted his entire life to the struggle for peace and the socialist cause, and thus won the love and respect of the laboring people all over the world.

The Chinese people are familiar with and respect Dimitrov not only because he exposed Nazi Germany's conspiracy of masterminding the Reichstag fire and shifting the responsibility to communists in the world-renowned Leipzig trial, but also because he showed deep sympathy and extended enthusiastic support for the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle.

Dimitrov was born into an ordinary laboring family on 18 June 1882. He became active in revolutionary activities when he was 15 years old. After the defeat of the September armed uprising launched by the Bulgarian people under his leadership, he was exiled from his country. He was active in the international arena after that. Leading the life of a professional revolutionary, he was engaged in labor movements under the Federation of the Communists of Balkan Nations and the West European section of the Comintern.

The 1930's was a decade which people all over the world will never forget. In 1933, Hitler established fascist dictatorial rule in Germany. During the period from 1936-1937, Germany, Italy and Japan formed the fascist alliance. They carried out even more wanton acts of aggression and expansion, and eventually launched World War II, which brought about tremendous disasters to the peoples throughout the world.

In 1931, the Japanese imperialists caused the "September 18th incident" and forcibly occupied the four northeastern provinces of China. They stepped up preparation for an overall aggressive war against China, and tried in vain to turn all of China into a colony of Japan. In the face of imperialist aggression, the Kuomintang government adopted the policy of non-resistance and carried on the counterrevolutionary principle of expanding civil war and slaughtering the Chinese communists and the Chinese people.

Meanwhile, under the leadership of the CCP, the masses of people from all levels of society in China called for stopping the civil war and uniting to resist the Japanese invaders. In January 1933, the Soviet Provisional Central Government of China and the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army jointly published a manifesto, offering to make an agreement with the Kuomintang troops of various factions on the resistance against Japan based on the following conditions: stopping the attack on revolutionary bases; safeguarding the people's democratic rights; and arming the people. In 1934, the CCP again put forward the "Six Major Programs to Resist Japan and Save the Nation." On 1 August 1935, the CCP Central Committee issued a manifesto, appealing to the compatriots of all strata and all parties throughout the country to pull together all resources to carry out the movement of resisting Japan and saving the nation. All these actions show that the CCP was beginning to adopt the new policy of establishing an extensive anti-Japanese national united front.

The anti-Japanese struggle of the Chinese people and the experiences obtained by the CCP drew Dimitrov's close attention. After his victory over Nazi Germany in Leipzig, Dimitrov was elected to the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in May 1934, and held the post of secretary general of the Comintern during the period 1935-1943. While engaged in international revolutionary activities, he always kept abreast of the progress of the Chinese revolution through various channels, and paid close attention to and enthusiastically supported the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people. Under his direction, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern often held meetings to study and discuss the problems concerning the Chinese revolution, and in particular the Chinese people's struggle against the Japanese invaders. Dimitrov introduced the experience of the Chinese revolution at the Comintern meetings, cheered every success of the Chinese people, and appealed to the proletariat and peoples of all countries to strongly support the Chinese revolution.

During the preparation for and in the course of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, Dimitrov summed up the experiences learned from the activities of the French people's front, the Spanish revolution and the labor movement in Western Europe, as well as the experience of the Chinese people in their struggle against the Japanese invaders. Based on this summation, he put forth the slogan of establishing a proletarian united front and the people's antifascist front in imperialist and capitalist countries, and an anti-imperialist united front in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

When discussing the questions concerning the "anti-imperialist united front" and "united front government" in his report made at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Dimitrov repeatedly referred to the experience of the Chinese revolution. He pointed out that the solution to the problem of establishing a united front in Brazil was different from that in India, China and other countries because the conditions for carrying out revolutionary struggles, the degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, and the role of communist parties in the revolutions were different in various colonial

and semicolonial countries. The local characteristic in China was that the national liberation movement was flourishing there, as soviet bases had arisen in some parts of the territory, the powerful Workers' and Peasants' Red Army had been organized, and the CCP had undertaken the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front. ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1954 edition, Vol 10, pp 99-100) Dimitrov commended the Chinese revolution as having brought hope to the national liberation movement of colonial and semicolonial countries. In his speech delivered at the close of the congress, he said: "Today the peoples of all colonial and semicolonial countries no longer regard their struggle for liberation as a hopeless cause. On the contrary, they are more and more resolutely engaged in the struggle against the imperialist enslavers. The best proof of this is the Chinese people's struggle and the Chinese Red Army's heroic deeds." ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1954 edition, Vol 10, p 182)

Just for this reason, at this grand gathering of the Comintern, Dimitrov declared on behalf of the revolutionary proletariats of all countries that he wholeheartedly subscribed to the proposal of the CCP on establishing an anti-Japanese national united front; he denounced the Japanese bandits' savage invasion and the Kuomintang government's traitorous activities, and appealed to the revolutionary peoples of all countries to provide the Chinese people with moral and political support. He solemnly announced: "We subscribe to the proposal by our courageous fraternal CCP on uniting with all organized forces within the territory who are willing to join and are actually engaged in the struggle of saving the country and the people so as to form a most extensive anti-imperialist united front opposing Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents." He also said: "We extend our warm and fraternal greetings to all soviets in China and to the revolutionary Chinese people. We extend our warm and fraternal greetings to the courageous and battle-tested Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. At the same time, we assure the Chinese people that we resolutely support them in their struggle to completely liberate themselves from the rule of all imperialist bandits and their Chinese running dogs." ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1954 edition, Vol 10, pp 100-101) As soon as he paused, the audience stood up and broke out into thunderous applause. Dimitrov's speech profoundly embodied his own as well as all revolutionary peoples' militant bonds of friendship with the Chinese people, which strongly encouraged the CCP, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army under its leadership, and the Chinese people, who were carrying out an extremely arduous and difficult struggle.

On 9 December 1935, under the guidance of the party, students in Beijing held a massive demonstration to resist the Japanese aggressors and save the country. On 25 December, our party convened a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in Wayaobao of Shaanxi Province and adopted the "Resolution on the Present Political Situation and Our Party's Tasks," in which the strategic guideline for the anti-Japanese national united front was laid down. After the meeting, in elaborating this guideline, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that under certain conditions, the left wing of the national bourgeoisie and some people in the Kuomintang camp might unite with the workers and peasants in the struggle against

the Japanese aggressors; therefore, "the task of the party is to form a revolutionary national united front by combining the activities of the Red Army with all the activities of the workers, the peasants, the students, the petit bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie throughout the country." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 137)

In June 1936, in an article which he wrote for the Comintern to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the CCP, Dimitrov enthusiastically commented that "the CCP is a real Bolshevik party." He pointed out that "the reason why the CCP could have developed into a mighty political force" was because it had maintained "deep-rooted ties" with the people. The party was devoting all its efforts to making itself "the vanguard in establishing the anti-Japanese national united front"; it was trying to unite with the people throughout China, and to cooperate with various political groups and military forces in the resistance against the Japanese aggressors. Dimitrov anticipated that the CCP, in establishing the united front, would encounter inside the party opposition from those "closed-doorists" and those "opportunist capitulators" who "were ready to give up the political and organizational independence of the party and the Red Army." He believed that the Chinese party would surely be able to overcome these difficulties inside the party. In conclusion, he appealed to the proletariats of all countries to actively support "the Chinese people who were carrying out the struggle for liberation," and to oppose the Japanese and German fascists who were the common enemies of the Chinese people and the people throughout the world. ("Selected Works of Dimitrov," Liberation Publishing House, 1949 edition, pp 241-244)

Those articles by Dimitrov on the Chinese revolution were compiled into a book entitled "The Struggle for Establishing the Chinese Anti-Japanese National United Front" which was published in 1937.

On 7 July 1937, the Japanese invaders launched an overall aggressive war in China. The Chinese people rose against the enemy and thus started the anti-Japanese war which lasted for the next 8 years. At home, while the masses of people who were united within the anti-Japanese national united front were undertaking the main tasks of resistance against the Japanese, the Kuomintang intended to surrender to the enemy by carrying out the policy of passively resisting the Japanese and actively opposing the CCP. Abroad, Britain, the United States, France and some other countries were encouraging Germany, Japan and Italy to do evil by continuing their appeasement policy toward the latter's invasion and expansion. Even inside the Comintern, some people were pessimistic about the future of the Chinese revolution. Facing such circumstances, Dimitrov resolutely stood on the side of the Chinese people. In July 1938, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, he made the "Declaration To Give All-Out Support to the Chinese People in Their Struggle Against the Japanese Aggressors," devoting his efforts to urging world opinion to support the Chinese people's anti-Japanese war. ("The Comintern," Moscow edition, July 1938)

Dimitrov emphatically pointed out in his speeches and articles that both Europe and the Far East were equally important sources of war. He warned

in good time that the Japanese occupation of the four northeastern provinces of China and the invasion of Abyssinia and Spain were steps taken by the fascists toward new and massive plundering wars. He questioned those Western countries which turned a blind eye to the Japanese bandits' invasion of China, asking: "Does the appeasement attitude toward bandits who are attacking the northern part of China not encourage the Japanese warlords, who are arbitrarily trying to enslave the great Chinese people? Does such encouragement not arouse our indignation?" ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1954 edition, Vol 10, p 375)

As the fascists' offensive and the world war became more and more threatening, Dimitrov held that, in order to defend the world peace, "we first of all have to defeat the fascists' invasion plans in Spain and China," and defeat their conspiracy of launching a world war. And the task of top priority was to mobilize all forces to "drive the fascist aggressors from Spain and China as soon as possible." ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1954 edition, Vol 10, pp 377-378)

Dimitrov set a high value on the Chinese people's anti-Japanese war. He said: "The great Chinese people who are united within the national united front are steadfast, brave and militant examples in the struggle against the savage Japanese invaders." ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1954 edition, Vol 10, p 415) "The national liberation war against the Japanese imperialists carried out by the great Chinese people," he pointed out, "is not only a struggle to defend China's independence and integrity, but is also of tremendous help to the European people in their struggle against imperialism." ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1954 edition, Vol 11, p 80)

Dimitrov had full confidence in the victory of the Chinese revolution. In the latter half of 1939, when recuperating in Moscow, Comrade Zhou Enlai elaborated to Dimitrov and the Executive Committee of the Comintern the situation of the anti-Japanese war and the CCP's strategy and policies of the anti-Japanese national united front. In February of the next year, on the eve of the day when Zhou Enlai, Ren Bishi, Deng Yingchao and other comrades left for home, Dimitrov gave a farewell banquet in their honor, and requested Comrade Zhou Enlai to send his regards to the anti-Japanese fighters on the battlefield and in the rear. He firmly declared: "I believe the victory of the Chinese revolution is in sight!" ("Ren Bishi," Hunan Peoples Publishing House, 1979 edition, p 210)

Following the victory of the worldwide antifascist war, the Bulgarian people overthrew the autocratic monarchy and established the people's political power on 9 September 1944. The Chinese people's anti-Japanese war also ended triumphantly in August 1945. However, with the backing of the U.S. imperialists, the Kuomintang reactionaries turned down the just demand for peace and democracy made by the whole Chinese people and the CCP, and subsequently launched the civil war against the people. In November 1945, Dimitrov returned to his motherland, Bulgaria, which he had left 22 years ago. He was appointed general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers. At that time, Dimitrov was

occupied with a myriad of state affairs and was working hard for the reconstruction of postwar Bulgaria. But he still showed great concern for the Chinese revolution.

On 19 July 1947, Dimitrov received a Chinese trade union leader who was visiting Bulgaria, and had a cordial and friendly conversation with him. Being deeply concerned for the Chinese people's struggle, he asked about the situation of the Chinese people's liberation war and the circumstances in the liberation zones. When he learned that the PLA had shifted from a strategic defensive to a strategic offensive and the party was trying hard to consolidate the extensive national democratic united front, he said: "The opinions of Comrade Mao Zedong are very correct. The peoples of all countries must learn from him! Uniting with all forces of the people to oppose the minority reactionaries has proved to be very correct!" ("Dimitrov, a Great Communist," Joint Publishing Company, 1950 edition, p 152) He had firm faith that the Chinese people, relying on the great patriotic unification, were bound to overthrow the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. At last, Dimitrov emphatically affirmed that China had bright prospects; and that the victory of the Chinese revolution would add strength to the people's democracy and socialism, contribute to the struggles against imperialism and any new aggression, and have a great impact on international politics in the future. ("In Memory of Dimitrov," (No. Ganchovski) [0355 3927 0829 1133 2448 1015], Sofia, 1975 edition, Vol 1, p 487)

At the end of 1948, Dimitrov once again affirmed the worldwide significance of the Chinese revolution at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. He pointed out in his speech that the brave struggle which the Chinese people had carried out for years to attain independence and oppose imperialism and its agents in China was "of extreme importance" to the change in the balance of world power. "Under the strong and brilliant leadership of the CCP, the more than 1 million-strong Chinese PLA has already won a series of marvelous victories and defeated the Chinese reactionary military forces armed and subsidized by the U.S. imperialists. At present, this 1 million-strong army has already liberated the entire northeastern and northern sections of China and Inner Mongolia. It is now marching toward Chiang Kai-shek's capital Nanking and will soon lay siege to the city." China's democratic force has crushed the reactionary force, "their final victory is a foregone conclusion, and it is only a question of time before final victory is achieved." ("Collected Works of Dimitrov," Sofia, 1955 edition, Vol 14, pp 305-306)

Dimitrov's anticipation of the Chinese revolution was realized very soon. Under the correct leadership of the CCP, new China eventually arose on the east horizon of the world on 1 October 1949. However, it is really regrettable that Dimitrov could never see or hear the victory of the Chinese revolution since he had passed away on 2 July that year.

The Chinese people have always highly respected Dimitrov. In the period of the anti-Japanese war, some works of Dimitrov had already been translated into Chinese and published as documents to be studied by cadres. Both

Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Liu Shaoqi appealed to the vast number of party members, especially the party's high-ranking cadres, to set the four standards for cadres put forth by Dimitrov (absolute loyalty, close ties with the masses, ability to work independently and observance of discipline) as strict demands on themselves. After the founding of new China, we translated and published some of his major works and some books on his revolutionary deeds.

Dimitrov's loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat, and his sympathy and support for the Chinese revolution, have profoundly impressed the Chinese people. He was a faithful friend of the Chinese people.

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## CARRY OUT SYSTEMATIC THEORETICAL EDUCATION TO RAISE CADRES' POLITICAL QUALITY

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[Article by Commentator]

[Text] Marxism is a powerful ideological weapon for us to understand the world and change it. It is a guide for our party in formulating principles and policies and a science that every cadre should study. In the new historical period, we are confronted with the arduous task of building socialist modernization. This requires that cadres be proficient in vocational knowledge, otherwise they will not be able to work well. However, while having a good command of professional work, cadres must be systematically educated with Marxist theory. Only by so doing, will it be possible to raise the political quality of the cadre ranks so that all cadres will be able to adhere to the orientation of socialism and maintain the purity of communism in a complicated situation and will they be able to consciously carry out the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session and to enhance their ability of analyzing the new situation and tackling new problems. This is a task of strategic significance.

At present, the theoretical level of cadres is rather inconsistent with the missions they are undertaking in building modernization. According to statistics, in some provinces and municipalities, only 18 percent of cadres have relatively systematically studied the basic knowledge of Marxism, 56 percent of them have arrived at a general understanding of it, and there are 26 percent of cadres who can be said to be lacking in understanding of Marxism for the main. This means that there are more than 80 percent of cadres who have no systematic and basic knowledge of Marxism. Owing to lack of fundamental theories of Marxism to arm their minds, some cadres cannot understand well the essence of the party's principles and policies so that they usually vacillate in implementing these principles and policies. In the face of the new situation and new problems, some cadres cannot analyze and deal with them with the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method so that they not only work at a low efficiency, but also often make deviations in handling their work. Furthermore, not being equipped with the Marxist world outlook on the whole, some cadres have no ability of resistance at all when confronted with attacks by the ideological trend of bourgeois



liberalization and even step on the road of breaching discipline and committing crimes.

Here is a well-known saying of Stalin: "In any state or party department, the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of its staff are, the more efficient and effective their work will be. Conversely, the lower the political level and the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of its staff are, the more setbacks and failures there will be in their work, the more likely the staff are to become vulgar and turn into shortsighted persons bogged down in routine matters, and the more likely they are to degenerate morally. This can be said to be a definition." Stalin also said that if cadres in all departments could be turned into quite mature Marxist-Leninists, then 90 percent of the problems could be solved. ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, pp 461-462) Our party's history also proves that the Marxist-Leninist level of cadres, especially of leading cadres determines the progress and the retrogression of our cause as well as its advance or retreat. Comrade Mao Zedong, therefore, pointed out: "No political party can possibly lead a revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 498)

Of the veteran cadres who joined the revolution during the anti-Japanese war or before, many of them are now advanced in years. It is anticipated that those who will still be working at their posts by 1990 will mostly be cadres who took part in work after the founding of the PRC. The theoretical level of this part of cadres is quite uneven. Generally speaking, those who joined work before 1957 are much better in political level and those who started working after 1966 are fairly poor in this field, most of them have not been systematically educated with Marxist theory. This is a question of prime importance. Here, we must get a move on and take measures to systematically educate the middle-aged and young cadres with Marxist theory in as short a period of time as possible so that we will be able to ensure that our party continues to march forward along the line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in 10 or 20 years' time.

Why should the theoretical education of Marxism for cadres be necessarily carried out systematically? This has been put forward in line with the requirements of the Marxist theoretical system itself and according to the positive and negative experiences we summed up from the past work of educating cadres theoretically.

Marxism is a scientific theoretical system. It consists of three component parts--philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism. We must have a systematic study of them. Only when we attain a systematic understanding of the three component parts of Marxism and the practice of the CCP in applying the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism to tackle the problems of the Chinese revolution, will it be possible for us to integrally and accurately master the fundamental tenets, stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism and foster a communist world outlook. The requirements of mastering Marxism must differ for different kinds of cadres. Cadres who

engage in party, government and mass work, especially leading cadres should know much more Marxism than other comrades.

On the problem of educating cadres theoretically, our party has long promoted the systematic study of Marxist theory. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that it was necessary to imbue cadres with Marxism systematically, not piecemeal, and to do with practice, not devoid of content. Comrade Liu Shaoqi seriously criticized an erroneous statement of neglecting systematic study of theory in arguing that those who bury themselves in books are "academics." Both in the Yanan period and in the 1950's, our party accumulated much experience in organizing cadres to systematically study theory. But for a long period of time after that, this study was disturbed by Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and the "gang of four." Being obsessed with the ambition of usurping the party and seizing power, they categorically opposed systematic study of Marxist theory with the excuse of combating dogmatism. They advocated the so-called methods of "taking a shortcut," "studying what is urgently needed" and "getting instant results." This led to fragmentizing Marxist theory into pieces and making arbitrary use of some quotations with no interconnection at all. Such pragmatic practice completely changed the systematic theoretical education for cadres and mentally disarmed them. To counter the influences of the pragmatic practice and the "leftist" errors advocated by Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and the "gang of four" in the study of Marxism, Comrade Deng Xiaoping specially emphasized the problem of integrally and accurately studying Marxism, providing us with an ideological weapon for criticizing pragmatism and dogmatism. We must continue to sweep away the baneful influence left over by Lin Biao, Kang Sheng and the "gang of four" and insist on systematically educating cadres with Marxist theory.

Promoting the systematic study of Marxism is by no means to isolatedly and statically study books without connecting the struggle with reality. Our consistent policy just as recommended by Comrade Mao Zedong is "to focus such education on the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution using the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide, and the method of studying Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation should be discarded." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 760) Today, our principle of theoretical education must still be applying theory to reality. In building socialist modernization, we are confronted with a great deal of problems. But owing to scant knowledge of basic Marxist theory, many cadres are not able to judge and solve problems with the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. The aim of organizing cadres to systematically study theory is, in the final analysis, to solve various practical problems awaiting us by centering on the task of building socialist modernization. The ultimate end of making our cadres systematically study theories is to use the "arrow" of Marxism to shoot at the "target" of the socialist construction in China.

In order to help all cadres study Marxist theory well and systematically, it is necessary to have the study system reformed so as to make it a regular practice taken step by step. To this end, we must seriously study the good tradition and good experience in the theoretical education that our party

carried out for cadres both in the Yanan period and in the 1950's. In line with the practical situation in our country, we must work out a feasible system and plan for carrying out theoretical education among cadres. Different requirements must meet with different types of cadres. Attention must be focused on grasping theoretical education among leading cadres between the ages of 30 and 50, leading cadres in reserve and cadres who engage in party, government and mass work. We must fulfill the plan of rotationally training cadres in a planned way through different channels such as the party school, cadre school, or "calling together" a small number of cadres at work or self-study. We must strengthen the system of checking on cadres' theoretical study, establish records and assess their study while assigning, selecting and promoting cadres. With a view to systematizing the theoretical education for cadres and making it a regular and standard practice, we must vigorously create conditions to solve the problems such as teaching materials, teachers, expenses and places. While gaining a good grasp of the present theoretical study of cadres, we must start in studying how to reform the system of theoretical education for cadres, actively creating conditions and striving to regularize theoretical education for cadres at an early date so as to meet the needs of building socialist modernization.

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AT PRESENT, WE SHOULD EXPAND REPRODUCTION WITH EMPHASIS ON INTENSION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 38-40

[Article by Lu Congming [7627 1783 2494]]

[Text] Enlarged reproduction is divided into two types: enlarged reproduction by extension and enlarged reproduction by intension. This is an important principle of Marxist theory on reproduction. According to the explanation of Marx in "Das Kapital," enlarged reproduction by extension generally means "adding new factories to the old ones." In other words, it means expanding reproduction by enlarging production sites and increasing manpower and material resources. Enlarged reproduction by intension generally means expanding reproduction by carrying out technical innovations in the original enterprises and raising the quality of essential factors of production and the use rate of funds. In the whole course of socialist enlarged reproduction, enlarged reproduction by extension and enlarged reproduction by intension are indispensable. They are interdependent and promote each other. However, one of the two aspects may possibly become more prominent than the other in a certain period of time. In a certain period of time after the founding of the People's Republic of China, in order to lay a necessary foundation for industry, it was absolutely necessary to carry out enlarged reproduction by extension by devoting our major efforts to building a large number of factories. But when the material technological foundation of the national economy reaches a certain scale, we should gradually carry out enlarged reproduction with stress on intension. In his government work report at the 4th Session of the 5th National People's Congress, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "From now on we must rely on technical innovations in the expansion of reproduction, and bring into full play the role of our present enterprises." This means that from now on there will be a strategic change in our socialist enlarged reproduction, a change from enlarged reproduction with stress on "extension" into enlarged reproduction with stress on "intension."

Why must we carry out this change?

First, this is the objective demand of the development of social production at a certain stage.

Whether extension or intensification is to be stressed in socialist enlarged reproduction is mainly determined by the status of the material and technological foundation of the national economy. When we started our industrialization on a poor and blank foundation left over from the old China, it was obviously wrong not to carry out enlarged reproduction with stress on extension. After 30-odd years of construction, our economic and technological levels have fundamentally changed. Now we have heavy and light industries with comparatively consummate departments, and have built an independent and integrated industrial system and national economic system. In 1980, there were more than 370,000 industrial enterprises and 400 billion yuan of industrial fixed assets, which was a 2,600 percent increase over 1952. The proportion of industrial output value in the total output value of industry and agriculture rose from 30 percent in 1949 to 75 percent in 1980. All this shows that China's present industry has reached a certain scale, provided the material and technological foundation for the realization of enlarged reproduction and built a reliable basis for our modernization.

Let us view this from the angle of funds. The proportion of funds of the original enterprises in the total funds that have increased over the years is becoming larger and larger following the development of social production. For a long time to come, due to the shortage of funds and energy, we will not be able to open up large numbers of new enterprises the way we did in the past. Therefore, raising the use rate of funds of the original enterprises through technical innovations will play an increasingly important role in the development of the national economy. This is an inevitability that will emerge after social production develops to a certain stage. After World War II, some economically developed countries did not use their major investments for increasing the absoluteness of the means of labor or for building new enterprises, but for renewing and innovating their technology and raising the level and productivity of their equipment and production technology. Take for example the machine building industry. Eighty-four percent of the increase in machine tools from 1963 to 1973 in Japan and 76 percent of the increase in machine tools from 1952 to 1972 in the United States were used for renewing their original machine tools. At present, 80 percent of investments of Western developed countries is applied to technical innovations, while the Soviet Union allots 70 percent of all investments for technical innovations.

Second, the status of technology and equipment of our present enterprises urgently requires us to place enlarged reproduction by intensification in a major position.

China's industry has reached a certain scale, but because we have been longing for new projects and new enterprises for a long time to the neglect of the renewal and innovation of the original equipment, the equipment of many enterprises is obsolete, technology is outdated, products are backward, consumption is too high and economic effect is low. At present, the "enlistment age" of the equipment of the fixed assets of industrial and communications enterprises throughout the country is as follows: enterprises with equipment more than 10 years old account for 52 percent,

enterprises with equipment more than 15 years old account for 42 percent, enterprises with equipment more than 20 years old account for 33 percent, enterprises with equipment more than 25 years old account for 14 percent and enterprises with equipment left over from the preliberation days account for 7 percent. The technological level of the equipment is as follows: about 20 percent of equipment is advanced or comparatively advanced; about 20-25 percent is obsolete and can barely cope with present production levels; and about 35 percent is quite old, outdated and requires immediate renewal and innovation.

The equipment of enterprises is old, technology is outdated and the consumption of raw materials and energy in production is high, therefore the quality of products is low and the economic effect is bad. In 1980, 40 percent of the indices of the quality of major products of key enterprises throughout the country and 65 percent of the indices of the consumption of fuel, power and raw materials did not reach the best level in history. According to statistics, the profits realized from each 100 yuan output value by industrial enterprises under the ownership of the whole people in 1980 dropped by 10 percent as compared with 1957. Of course, there are many reasons for such a phenomenon, but overlooking the renewals and innovations of the equipment of enterprises over a long period of time must be regarded as an important reason. Marx said: "The greater part of the means of labor constantly undergoes innovations due to the progress of the state. Therefore, they carry out replacement in the form of innovation instead of in the original form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, pp 190-191) Machinery and equipment are the skeletal system of modern production. Whether they are advanced determines, to a very great extent, the economic effect. Therefore, in order to change the backwardness of China's present enterprises and raise the economic effect, it is necessary to renew the equipment of our present enterprises and to carry out technical innovations so as to realize enlarged reproduction with emphasis on intensification.

Third, carrying out enlarged reproduction with emphasis on intensification is an important strategic measure for China's national economy to change from readjustment to overall development.

In the present period of readjustment of the national economy, on the one hand, some heavy industrial projects and many machine building factories "do not have enough to eat," and capital construction contingents are seriously short of production tasks; on the other hand, the equipment of many industrial enterprises is old and their technology is backward. Many products which are needed at home and abroad cannot be produced due to limitations in technology and energy. Or even if they can be produced, they cannot meet the demands. How should we overcome such a contradiction so as to enliven the national economy in an overall manner? One important strategic measure is to pay close attention to the technical innovations of our present enterprises and to carry out enlarged reproduction with emphasis on intensification.

In the past, much was devoted to capital construction in the production of the machine building industry, while little was devoted to technical innovation; much was devoted to heavy industry, while little was devoted to agriculture and light industry. Now due to the need for technical innovation, various trades and undertakings have begun to place orders with the machine building industry. In this way, the production capability of the machine building industry can be brought into full play, its technical innovations can be carried forward and its orientation of service readjusted. The machine building industry occupies an important position in industry. Before the readjustment principle was implemented, its output value accounted for about 25 percent of the total industrial output value. The enlivening of the machine building industry will give an impetus to the increase in heavy industrial production such as metallurgical production and to its technical innovations. And when the entire heavy industry is enlivened, it can provide advanced equipment and superior quality materials for light industrial and agricultural production and for their technical innovations. In this way, the whole national economy will be enlivened in an all-round way.

For a long time, energy has been in short supply in China, and it has been unable to meet the demands of the national economic development. One of the methods to solve this problem is to grasp firmly the technical innovations with regard to the use of coal, petroleum and electric power in our present enterprises. According to estimates, if we can reform high consumption coal furnaces within 10 years, we will be able to save 50 million tons of coal each year, and replace 40 million tons of superior quality coal with low quality coal. This will create favorable conditions for further growth of the national economy.

China is in a period of economic readjustment. Its financial situation is comparatively difficult and its funds are not sufficient. Carrying out technical innovation in our present enterprises will enable us to get better economic effect with less investments. According to the estimates of the departments concerned, in increasing the same production capability, if we reform our old enterprises instead of building new ones, we can cut our investments by two-thirds, equipment and materials by 60 percent and shorten the production period by 50 percent. Following the gradual expansion of technical innovations, the quality of products will increase, consumption will decrease, the effect on the national economy will be greatly raised and the conditions of the state's financial status and people's livelihood will greatly improve.

The carrying out of enlarged reproduction with emphasis on intension is designed for the national economy as a whole. It does not mean that we cannot carry out enlarged reproduction with emphasis on extension in certain fields. In addition, in carrying out enlarged reproduction with emphasis on intension, we must start from our national condition and consider that our large population will provide great employment tasks, and according to the characteristics of different departments, different regions and different enterprises, introduce a multistrata technological structure and correctly combine the role of advanced science and technology with that of rich labor resources to get the best economic effect.

## WHY DOES THE PRICE OF A COMMODITY RISE EVEN WHEN ITS VALUE DECREASES?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 pp 41-42

[Article by Wei Xinghua [5898 5281 5478]]

[Text] In accordance with Marx' theory of the value of labor, the value of commodities and the amount of labor which find expression in commodities constitute a direct ratio while the value of commodities and labor productivity producing commodities constitute an inverse ratio; commodities are exchanged according to or on the basis of their value, and prices are the monetary expressions of values. In line with this principle, people will easily think that with the gradual increase in social labor productivity, there is a relevant decrease in the value of a commodity and there should also be a relevant decrease in the price which is the monetary expression of the value of a commodity. However, the phenomena existing in the real economic life are very often not so. For 30-odd years in our country, although there has been a decrease in the prices of a small section of commodities, seen from the general level of commodity prices, there has been a slight increase in the general level of commodity prices with the improvement in labor productivity. Why is it so?

It must be pointed out that when labor productivity improves, the value of a commodity decreases. This is one situation. Whether or not the price of a commodity will drop in the same degree with the devaluation of the commodity is another situation. The movement of commodity value and that of commodity prices are two processes which are both interrelated and different. True, prices are the monetary expression of value, but the orientation and scope of the variations of value do not necessarily accurately find expression in price variations. This is because what determines the value of a commodity is not only the socially necessary work time consumed in producing the commodity but also many other factors; besides the value of a commodity, there are still the value of the money itself, the volume of paper money in circulation, the relation between supply and demand, the factor of distribution and so on.

Under circumstances where coins are used as a means of circulation, because coins have their own value also, if the value of a commodity and money decreases in the same degree, prices will not change; if the scope of the decrease in the value of a commodity is narrower than that in the value of



money, prices will rise. This phenomenon in which the movement of value and that of prices are not identical does not mean that the price of a commodity and its value deviate from each other. While paper money is used as a means of circulation, and particularly since paper money no longer has a legal gold content, it is a common occurrence that the decrease in the value of a commodity and the increase in its price run parallel. This is because paper money itself does not have any value. When it represents coins, paper money only symbolizes value. In accordance with the laws governing the circulation of paper money, when paper money is over-issued and exceeds the volume of currency needed in circulation, paper money will "devalue" and the price of a commodity will rise, regardless of whether or not the value of the commodity has decreased. This occurs in both capitalist and socialist countries.

Besides the factor of money, other factors such as distribution also have an important bearing on the price of a commodity. Changes in a price are often the result of the comprehensive action of the various factors. Judged from the actual conditions of our country, over the last 30-odd years there has been a slight increase in the general level of commodity prices, which mainly accounts for the following things:

First, the influence of the increased prices for agricultural products. In old China there existed very great "price cutters" between the prices for industrial and agricultural products (that is, the prices for agricultural products were lower than their value and those for industrial products were higher than their value). After liberation, in order to boost the income of the peasants and promote the development of agricultural production, the CCP and the government raised the purchasing prices for agricultural products many times and thus helped to gradually exchange agricultural products for industrial products with the prices which approached their value and reduced the "price cutters." This is precisely the demand of the law of value. Of course, the fairly rapid increase in agricultural labor productivity and the relevant decrease in the value of agricultural products will become a factor which offsets the rise in the prices for agricultural products. However, the increase in labor productivity in our agriculture is, in fact, very slow. Judged from the materials from a sample survey of some localities, there was even a certain decrease rather than an increase in our agricultural labor productivity (this is related to the errors made in the economic work in the past and the disproportions between agriculture and light industry on the one hand and heavy industry on the other hand). In addition, the supply of farm produce and sideline products of our country has for many years failed to keep pace with the increase in the demand for them. Therefore, price hikes in agricultural products have become an objective inevitable trend.

Increased prices for agricultural products have exerted a great influence on the increase in the general level of commodity prices. This is not only because the total volume of the prices for farm produce and sideline products constitutes a fairly great proportion in the total price volume for consumer goods, but also because most raw and semifinished materials of our light industry directly or indirectly come from agriculture. The

raising of prices for agricultural products will cause a chain reaction and a relevant increase (or will hamper the decrease) in the costs and prices of many light industrial products.

Second, previous prices for such fuels as coal and for such industrial raw materials as pig iron were on the low side. This was also a problem left over from history. In order to advance production, it is necessary to raise the prices for these products in a planned and appropriate way. But as a result it will also have an impact on the relevant increase in the costs and prices of a series of industrial products. This is also one of the causes for the increase in the general level of commodity prices.

Third, the influence of the accumulation rate. The price of every commodity and the value of all social products can be distributed into two parts, namely, the transfer of original value and the newly created value. The former is used for making up the consumption of machines, raw and semi-finished materials, fuels and so on, while the latter can be viewed as accumulation funds and a means to increase consumption funds after deducting labor costs, such as wages. The excessively rapid increase in accumulation and excessively high accumulation rate will not only squeeze out the part used to increase consumption funds but also cause an increase rather than a decrease in the price of a commodity despite a drop in its value. The balance between them will change over to accumulation through the price of a commodity being higher than its value. In normal circumstances, increasing some accumulation through the distribution of prices will be conducive to promoting the development of the socialist construction cause. The problem is that because of the influence of the "leftist" errors in economic work, the accumulation rate was excessively high in the past. This surpassed the rational demarcation line in increasing accumulation through the distribution of prices. This is also one of the reasons why industrial labor productivity increased but the prices for industrial products failed to correspondingly decrease.

Fourth, the influence of wage increases. With the decrease in value, prices fall. One of the reasons for this is that the scope of wage hikes must not exceed the growth rate of labor productivity. If it is surpassed, the ratio of accumulation in the newly created value has to be reduced; if the ratio of accumulation remains unchanged, it will be possible to effect a fall in prices with the decrease in value only when prices are kept unchanged or even raised.

Over the last 30-odd years, China's average income has increased step by step, and because more people are working, there has been a fairly big increase in the total amount of wages for the staff and workers. Particularly in the last few years, the party and the government have increased the wage income of the staff and workers by a fairly large margin and, with the solution to the employment problem for a total of 26 million people, the total amount of wages in 1981 for the staff and workers throughout the nation registered an increase of 43.3 percent over 1978. The average income of the staff and workers employed in the units under the system of ownership by the whole people in 1981 was 26 percent more than that in 1978.

Furthermore, a fairly large number of bonuses were distributed. This caused the scope of wage hikes to outstrip the growth rate of labor productivity, thus producing an impact on the increase in the general level of commodity prices.

To sum up, although the variation of prices always takes value as the foundation, it is still affected by other factors and the two must not be directly equated. The principle of basically stabilizing commodity prices which we adopted is the use of the law of value. Owing to the errors in our work, price hikes in a certain period outstripped the normal scope. However, this was only a transient phenomenon. With the further readjustment of the national economy last year, the scope of price hikes has already dropped markedly. With a further change for the better in economic and financial affairs, the commodity prices of our country will surely become stable with each passing day.

CSO: 4004/40

## IS THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY A PLANNED ECONOMY OR A COMMODITY ECONOMY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 82 p 43

[Article by Mao Gang [3029 6921]]

[Text] A planned economy and a commodity economy are not absolutely antagonistic and neither are they two different stages of development of the socialist economy. A commodity economy is the opposite of a natural economy while a planned economy is the opposite of an unplanned economy. In a socialist society where commodity production and commodity exchange have still to be retained, practicing a planned economy means, in fact, practicing planned commodity production and planned commodity exchange. This is the objective reality of our socialist economic life. Since the current economic life is so, therefore it is only natural for people to try to theoretically summarize it in terms which they consider relatively clear and unambiguous. As a result, formulations of all kinds have emerged. For instance, some people say that the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy; some say that it is both a planned economy and a commodity economy and there are still other people saying that it is a commodity economy with the planned economy as the dominant factor. In my opinion, none of these formulations can accurately mirror the essential feature of the socialist economy.

The essential feature of the socialist economy is the planned economy. Based on the system of public ownership of the means of production, the planned economy forms a unitary whole and thereby enables the society to ensure the proportionate development of the socialist reproduction process and the various departments of the national economy through regulation by planning mechanism. With a planned economy, the state can rationally distribute manpower and financial and material resources among the various localities and departments in light of the national condition, help balance the movement between funds and material, regulate the distribution of consumption funds on a national scale in a unified way so as to basically stabilize the market and prices, achieve fairly great economic results in social production and improve the well-being of the masses of the people step by step. This was not inherent in previous social and economic formations, is a major difference between the socialist system and previous social systems and also an important aspect of the superiority of the socialist system.

The socialist planned economy does not exclude the market and does not dispense with the regulatory role of the market. The socialist planned economy develops the economy mainly in accordance with the objective requirements of the law that the national economy is developed in a planned way and, at the same time, applies the law of value to regulating commodity production and commodity circulation. In his "New Problems Arising After the Basic Completion of the Socialist Transformation," Comrade Chen Yun said: "Planned production is the major part of industrial and agricultural production while free production according to fluctuating market conditions and within the limits allowed by state planning is a supplement to planned production." "In the socialist unified market, the state market is dominant, but a free market is attached to it, carried out within certain limits and led by the state. This kind of free market is carried out under the leadership of the state as a complement to the state market. Therefore, it is a component part of the socialist unified market." This is China's current concrete economic form. It is in this concrete economic form that our planned economy is carried out. As Comrade Chen Yun said, the main part of our industrial and agricultural products are produced in a planned way and although the remaining part of the products are produced freely according to fluctuating market conditions, that is free production conducted within the limits allowed by the state plan. The state plan still plays a leading role in free production and has a certain binding force on it.

Socialist society is not a self-sufficient natural economy. The social products of a socialist society are basically commodities. In this sense, it can be called a commodity economy. But this cannot show the nature and properties of socialism, because there similarly exists commodity production in the previous social formations and particularly in capitalist society. In stressing that the socialist economy is a commodity economy, people may give rise to the consideration that it is to correct such "leftist" views as that in the past, the socialist planned economy was regarded as being opposed to the commodity economy and as excluding commodity production. If it gives rise to lack of such aspirations, it will only be all right if the concrete contents of the planned economy at the present stage are clearly explained. It is best not to substitute the concept of the commodity economy in place of the planned economy, because the latter displays the properties of the socialist economy system.

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## RECOMMENDING 'POPULAR PHILOSOPHY'

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[Book review by Sha Ying [3097 5391]]

[Text] The book "Popular Philosophy" [Tongsu Zhexue 6639 0198 0772 1331] (edited by Han Shuying) recently published by the China Youth Publishing House is a comparatively outstanding book about popular philosophy.

The writers of this book said that it was "only a trial" to compile books about popular philosophy. I think it is a significant as well as comparatively successful trial.

What are the features and advantages of this book?

First, it expounds Marxist philosophical principles quite accurately. All philosophical principles are explained from the point of the whole system of Marxist dialectical materialism so that each can be explained as accurately as possible. For example, the explanation of the theory that matter is primary, objectiveness of law, practice as the only criterion for testing truth and the two basically opposite historical outlooks, is all made on the basis of world matter and on the fact that the world is an entity of the world of matter. The writers explicitly point out that if this basis is taken out, no principle of dialectical materialism or historical materialism can be formed. In expounding the basic philosophical question of the relationship between matter and ideology, the book criticizes the "theory of all-powerful spirit" and the "theory of useless spirit." In the past, in expounding the law of dialectics, some philosophical books and articles only dealt with the law of the unity of opposites and stressed the struggle of contradictions; they did not deal, or dealt very little, with the unity of contradictions. But this book follows the three basic laws of dialectics that were expounded by Engels and explains in an overall way the contents of dialectics. At the same time, this book puts the three basic laws in the same position and mainly explains the law of the unity of opposites and points out the nature and core of dialectics.

Second, the book deals quite well with combining theory with practice. The writers followed the principle of seeking truth from facts, proceeded from reality and explained the line, principles and policies of the 3d Plenary

Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee on the background of the experiences and lessons in the practice of socialist construction in our country since the founding of new China. They also explained the spirit and nature of the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in their efforts to lead readers to profoundly understand the new road for socialist construction put forth by the Central Committee and is in line with national conditions. They talked about the problems that exist in work by cadres and pointed out the importance of cadres correcting their ideological line and improving their methods and style of work. In particular, with regard to ideological conditions of youths, the writers enlightened them on how to get out of individualist small circles and how to distinguish socialism from capitalism and genuine beauty from falsification and ugliness so that they can form the correct ideology of loving their motherland, the party and socialism. The development of modern production and natural sciences has exposed many new natural phenomena and raised many new questions. The writers have also made an effort to explain all this on the basis of Marxist philosophical principles. For example, the book has properly reflected such things as the theory of information, cybernetics, the theory of systems and their relations with philosophy.

Third, "Popular Philosophy" is worthy of the name. This book is really very popular and easy to understand, with vivid wording and food for thought. It pays considerable attention to knowledge. In expounding philosophical principles, the writers introduce some knowledge about history, geography, culture, art and natural sciences so as to help readers improve their knowledge in these respects and develop their scientific and cultural level. The book is also delightful as the writers refer to interesting things, domestic and foreign and ancient and modern, scientific and historical stories, anecdotes of celebrities, poems and maxims. The book also uses simple language that makes it accessible to and well received by readers. What is particularly interesting is that the book also carries 20 philosophical cartoons by Comrade Fang Cheng.

Of course, this book has some shortcomings. I hope that the writers will solicit the opinions of readers and make amendments and improvements before the second edition of this book comes off the press. I also hope that philosophy circles will be able to publish more popular philosophical books so that our philosophy will become more rich and varied, and daily more prosperous.

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